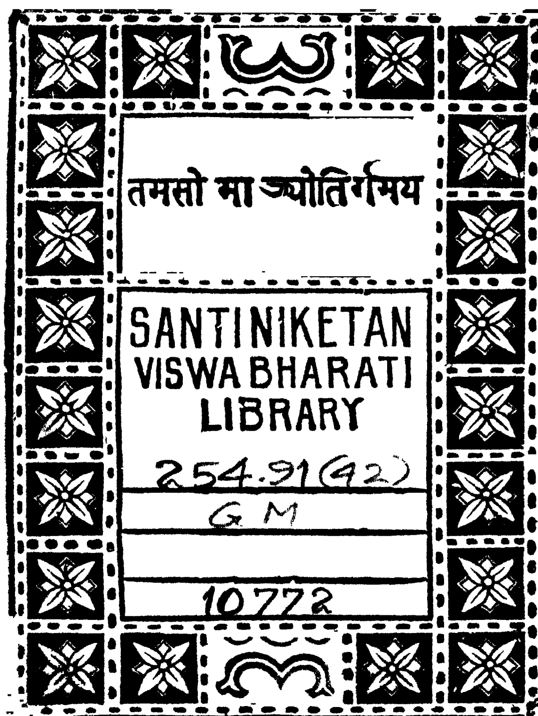


Pali Text Society

THE MAHĀVAMSA

OR

THE GREAT CHRONICLE OF CEYLON

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

A FEW words are necessary to explain how the present work came to be written; and one or two points should be mentioned regarding the aims it is hoped to achieve. Early in 1908 the Government of Ceylon were contemplating a new and revised edition of Turnour's translation of the Mahāvaṃsa, published in 1837 and reprinted in L. C. Wijesinha's Mahāvaṃsa published in 1889, and were in correspondence on the subject with the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The Society appointed a numerous and influential Committee, and recommended myself as Editor for Europe.[1] By their letter of July 18, 1908, the Government of Ceylon requested me to undertake that post. I took the opportunity at the Congress of Orientalists held at Copenhagen in August, and again at the Congress on the History of Religions held in September at Oxford, to consult my colleagues on the best plan for carrying out the proposed revision. They agreed that the method most likely to lead to a satisfactory result within a reasonable time was to entrust the work to one competent critical scholar who could, if necessary, consult members of the Ceylon Committee, but who should be himself responsible for all the details of the work. I reported to Government accordingly, and recommended that Prof. Geiger, who had just completed his edition of the text, should be asked to undertake the task. The Government approved the plan, and asked me to make the necessary arrangements. Those arrangements have resulted in the publication of the present volume.

Professor Geiger has made a translation into German of his own revised critical edition published by the Pali Text Society

[1] See the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xxi, no. 61, pp. 40-42, 70, 86.

in 1908; and added the necessary introduction, appendices, and notes. Mrs. Bode has translated the German into English; and Professor Geiger has then revised the English translation.

The plan has been to produce a literal translation, as nearly as possible an absolutely correct reproduction of the statements recorded in the Chronicle. It is true there is considerable literary merit in the original poem, and that it may be possible hereafter to attempt a reproduction also, in English unrhymed verse, of the literary spirit of the poem. But a literal version would still be indispensable for historical purposes. For similar reasons it has been decided to retain in the translation certain technical terms used in the Buddhist Order. In a translation aiming at literary merit some English word more or less analogous in meaning might be used, regardless of the fact that such a word would involve implications not found in the original. Thus *bhikkhu* has often been rendered 'priest' or 'monk'. But a *bhikkhu* claims no such priestly powers as are implied by the former term, and would yield no such obedience as is implied in the other; and to discuss all the similarities and differences between these three ideas would require a small treatise. There are other technical terms of the same kind. It is sufficient here to explain that when such terms are left, in the present translation, untranslated, it is because an accurate translation is not considered possible. Most of them are, like *bhikkhu*, already intelligible to those who are likely to use this version. But they are shortly explained in foot-notes; and a list of them, with further interpretation, will be found at the end of the volume.

The Ceylon Government has defrayed the expense of this, as it did of the previously published translations of the Mahāvaṃsa.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Literary questions concerning Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa.

THE LITERARY QUESTIONS connected with the Mahāvaṃsa and the development of the historical tradition in Ceylon have been thoroughly discussed in my book *Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa.*[1] I believe that I have there demonstrated that the two Ceylonese Chronicles are based upon older materials and for this reason should claim our attention as sources of history.

Now, however, R. O. FRANKE has taken a decided stand against my inferences.[2] He disputes the existence of an older historical work as foundation of Dīp. and Mah.

The former appears to him to be only a botched compilation of Pāli quotations from the Jātakas and other canonical works. But the author of the Mah. has merely copied the Dīp. and the same applies to Buddhaghosa and his historical introduction to the Samanta-Pāsādikā. I have however, I hope, succeeded in combating the doubts and objections raised by FRANKE.[3]

The defects of the Dīp., which naturally neither can nor should be disputed, concern the outer form, not the contents.

[1] *Dīp. und Mah. und die geschichtliche Überlieferung in Ceylon*, Leipzig, 1905. Translated into English by E. M. COOMARASWAMY, *Dīp. and Mah.*, Colombo, 1908. Quotations in the following pages follow the English edition. I may also refer here expressly to OLDENBERG's remarks, *Dīp.*, ed. Introd., p. 1 foll. (1879), as the starting-point for my own.

[2] *Dīp. und Mah.* in the *Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.* 21, pp. 203 foll.; 317 foll.

[3] *Noch einmal Dīp. und Mah.; Zeitschr. d. D. morgenl. Gesellsch.* 63, p. 540 foll. I note that OLDENBERG in the *Archiv f. Religionswissensch.* 13. p. 614, agrees with my inferences against FRANKE.

But that the author of the Dīp. simply invented the contents of his chronicle is a thing impossible to believe.

Thus it is our task to trace the sources from which he drew his material. This is made possible for us by the Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā, i.e. the native commentary on our chronicle which, under the title Vaṃsatthappakāsinī, was composed by an unknown author.

I will then here briefly sum up the principal results of my labours, referring, for confirmation in detail, to my earlier works.

1. In Ceylon there existed at the close of the fourth century A.D., that is, at the time in which the Dīpavaṃsa was composed, an older work, a sort of chronicle, of the history of the island from its legendary beginnings onwards. The work constituted part of the Aṭṭhakathā, i.e. the old commentary-literature on the canonical writings of the Buddhists which Buddhaghosa took as a basis for his illuminating works. It was, like the Aṭṭhakathā, composed in Old-Sinhalese prose, probably mingled with verse in the Pāli language.

2. This *Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa* existed, as did the Aṭṭhakathā generally, in different monasteries of the island, in various recensions which diverged only slightly from one another. Of particular importance for the further development of the tradition was the recension of the monks of the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura, upon which the author of the Mah. Ṭīkā drew for his material.

3. The chronicle must originally have come down only to the arrival of Mahinda in Ceylon. But it was continued later and indeed, to all appearance, down to the reign of Mahāsena (beginning of the fourth century A.D.), with which reign the Dīpavaṃsa as well as the Mahāvaṃsa comes to an end.

4. Of this work the DĪPAVAṂSA presents the first clumsy redaction in Pāli verses.[1] The MAHĀVAṂSA is then a new treatment of the same thing, distinguished from the Dīp.

[1] So far as language is concerned, the author's sources have been indicated, for numerous verses, by FRANKE; and herein lies the merit of his work, although I cannot consent to his conclusions.

by greater skill in the employment of the Pāli language, by more artistic composition and by a more liberal use of the material contained in the original work. While the authorship of the Dīp. is not known the author of the Mahāvaṃsa is known as Mahānāma.[1]

5. It is also on the Dīp. that BUDDHAGHOSA bases his historical introduction to the Samantapāsādikā;[2] but he completes and adds to its information with statements which could only have been drawn directly from the Aṭṭhakathā.

6. The MAHĀVAṂSA-ṬĪKĀ brings to the contents of the Dīp. and Mah. further additions, taken from the original work. It was certainly not composed till between 1000 and 1250 A. D. But there can be no doubt that the Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa lay before the author, as he also supposes it to be known to his readers and accessible to all.[3] For this reason his statements as to the original work, its form and its contents, naturally acquire particular importance.

These conclusions are not in any way altered if I am now inclined to consider the relation between Mah. and Dīp. as a closer one than in my first work. That the author of the former knew the latter and used it I have naturally never disputed. But I should now wish, in agreement with FLEET, to go much further and regard the Mah. as a conscious and intentional rearrangement of the Dīp., as a sort of commentary to this latter. I also think now that the quotation of the 'Mahāvaṃsa of the ancients' in the proœmium of our Mah. refers precisely to the Dīp. I have besides already indicated the possibility of this view in my *Dīp. and Mah.*, p. 17. FLEET[4] then translates the well-known passage of the later Cūlavaṃsa (38. 59) datvā sahassaṃ dīpetuṃ Dīpavaṃsaṃ samādisi in very illuminating fashion: 'he (king Dhātusena) bestowed a thousand (pieces of gold) and gave orders to write a dīpikā on the Dīpavaṃsa.'

[1] See RHYS DAVIDS, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1905, p. 391.

[2] Edited by H. OLDENBERG, *The Vinaya Piṭakaṃ*, iii, p. 283 foll.

[3] I have indicated in *Z.D.M.G.* 63, p. 549 foll., passages in the *Mah. Ṭ.* which undoubtedly bear this out.

[4] *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 5, n. 1.

The interpretation hitherto given: that this is an allusion to a public recitation of the Dīp. must then be abandoned. But this dīpikā, which was composed by order of Dhātusena, is identified by FLEET with our Mahāvaṃsa. Thus, at the same time, the date of its origin is more precisely fixed. Dhātusena reigned, according to calculations which are to be confirmed further on, at the beginning of the sixth century after Christ. About this time the Mahāvaṃsa was composed.

§ 2. The Trustworthiness of the Ceylon Chronicles.

After these preliminary observations the Ceylonese Chronicles should now be judged particularly with respect to their value as HISTORICAL SOURCES, and the historical data drawn from them should be brought together.

In their character of historical sources the Dīp. and Mah. have been very differently appreciated.

FRANKE goes the furthest in scepticism. If he did in the beginning at least admit the POSSIBILITY[1] that the author of the Dīp. had some document or other before him, he has lately said most positively: 'in the absence of any sources, the last-named work (i. e. the Dīpavaṃsa) must be considered as standing unsupported on its own tottering feet.'[2] And therefore according to him no historical value can be conceded to the Dīp. nor to the Mah. nor finally to the Smp. FRANKE's scepticism, to which I shall return in discussing the history of the councils, ceases to be well founded as soon as we accept the thesis that the Ceylonese Chronicles are based on the Aṭṭhakathā. With this the tradition recedes several centuries, and the probability that it contains historical recollections is correspondingly reinforced, and that thesis must, as I have explained above, be considered as confirmed.

KERN[3] too expresses himself with great caution on the historical value of Dīp. and Mah. He indeed says in his *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 9, '. . . the chronicles

[1] *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1906, No. 37, column 1275, l. 2.

[2] *Journal of the Pali Text Soc.* 1908, p. 1.

[3] *Buddhismus*, German translation by Jacobi, ii, p. 283.

Dīpavaṃsa, Mahāvaṃsa, and Sāsanavaṃsa deserve a special notice on account of their being so highly important for the ecclesiastical history of Ceylon.' But here, however, it is only admitted that the chronicles can be utilized as of value for the period from Devānampiyatissa onwards or perhaps only for a yet later time. For the most ancient times, when the history of continental India is also to be taken into consideration, KERN is hardly inclined to accept them as authentic sources.

A very trenchant verdict is pronounced by V. A. SMITH in his *Asoka* on the Ceylonese Chronicles. He says in the plainest fashion: 'in this work (i.e. in the *Asoka*) the Ceylonese chronology prior to B.C. 160 is absolutely and completely rejected, as being not merely of doubtful authority but positively false in its principal propositions.'[1]

Perhaps V. A. SMITH has since modified his judgement. For he says now:[2] 'These Sinhalese stories the value of which has been sometimes overestimated, demand cautious criticism at least as much as do other records of popular and ecclesiastical tradition.' This sounds less cutting. The warning to handle critically, which the excellent historian considers necessary with regard to the Ceylonese Chronicles, is certainly justified. It applies to all historical documents, and I have no intention at all of disputing the justice of it.

The judgement pronounced by RHYS DAVIDS[3] on Dīp. and Mah. sounds much more favourable. He says: 'The Ceylon Chronicles would not suffer in comparison with the best of the Chronicles, even though so considerably later in date, written in England or in France.' He also lays stress on the fact that, as is self-evident, those Chronicles contain no pure history. But they represent the traditions of their time and permit us to draw retrospective conclusions as to earlier periods.

Lately H. C. NORMAN[4] has defended the Ceylonese Chronicles, with complete justice as it seems to me, against

[1] *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India*, p. 57.

[2] *Early History of India* (2nd ed., 1908), p. 9.

[3] *Buddhist India*, 1903, p. 274.

[4] *A Defense of the Chronicles of the Southern Buddhists*, *J.R.A.S.* 1908, p. 1 foll.

undeserved distrust and exaggerated scepticism. I draw attention expressly to this essay because it naturally has many points of contact with my own researches.

If we next consider the two chronicles as a whole, without any prepossessions, it is not easy to understand whence this widespread doubt of their trustworthiness. The presentation of the subject, taken as a whole, may be called modest and simple, indeed dry. True, there is no lack of fables and marvellous tales. But they appear as outward decoration which can be easily omitted. Besides, we always meet with such stories of miracles in connexion with events of a quite clearly defined category, namely, when it is a question of celebrating the splendour and majesty of the Buddhist Order.

Mahinda arrives in Ceylon in marvellous fashion, flying through the air; miraculous phenomena accompany the 'Establishment of the Doctrine', the arrival of the relics, the planting of the Bodhi-tree, and so forth. None of this can appear strange to us. The ornament with which tradition here decks out the victory of the Order and the true faith enfolds a deeper meaning. The facts in themselves are extraordinarily simple; but to the pious sentiment of the believer they seemed great; and fantasy glorifies them with the many-coloured lights of miracle and legend.

I do not conceal from myself that this judgement of the situation lays itself open to the reproach that our method is simply to eliminate from the tradition all the miraculous stories and consider what is left over as authentic history.[1] But I think WINDISCH[2] has shown admirably how, in fact, in the Buddhist tradition, around a relative small nucleus all kinds of additions have collected in time, by which events, originally simple, are withdrawn gradually into the region

[1] V. A. SMITH, *Asoka*, pp. 45–46: 'Most writers have been content to lop off the miracles and to accept the residuum of the story as authentic history. Such a method of interpreting a legend does not seem to be consistent with sound principles of historical criticism.'

[2] *Māra und Buddha* (*Abhandl. d. phil.-hist. Cl. der K. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.*, xv, 4, 1895), *Buddha's Geburt* (*ib.*, xxvi, 2, 1907), *Die Komposition des Mahāvastu* (*ib.*, xxvii, 14, 1909).

of the marvellous. 'But we must not therefore pour away the child with the bath. Here, too, the task of Science is to lay bare the grain of truth; not only this, but she must seek the meaning and significance of the mythical crown of rays that has gathered round the nucleus. For the mythical is often the covering of deep thoughts.' [1]

We shall, of course, be obliged to begin by removing the mythical additions. But we need by no means take the residue as current coin. Here we are concerned to examine how far the tradition is established as trustworthy, by internal or external evidence, and how far shaken as being untrustworthy.

If we pause first at internal evidence then the Ceylonese Chronicles will assuredly at once win approval in that they at least WISHED to write the truth. Certainly the writers could not go beyond the ideas determined by their age and their social position, and beheld the events of a past time in the mirror of a one-sided tradition. But they certainly did not intend to deceive hearers or readers. This is clear from the remarkably objective standpoint from which they judge even the mortal foes of the Aryan race. That certainly deserves to be emphasized. It is true not only of dominating personalities (such as, to all appearance, Eḷāra was) but also of the two usurpers Sena and Guttika it is said, Dīp. 18. 47 and Mah. 21. 11: rajjaṃ dhammena kārayuṃ.

Besides, the obvious endeavour to make out a systematic chronology is such as to inspire confidence at the outset. Indeed, whole sections of the Dīp. consist entirely of synchronistic connexions of the ecclesiastical tradition with profane history and of the history of India with that of Ceylon.

§ 3. External support of the Chronicles.

The above certainly are, in the first place, only general considerations, the value of which I myself would by no means estimate too highly. Meanwhile it is more important that the Ceylonese tradition has after all found support to a considerable extent from external testimony.

[1] WINDISCH, *Buddha's Geburt*, p. 4.

1. First as to the LIST OF INDIAN KINGS BEFORE ASOKA,[1] the statements concerning Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu as contemporaries of the Buddha agree with the canonical writings and, in respect of the names, with those of the Brahmanic tradition.

The Jaina-tradition has other names; this, however, does not affect the actual agreement. There can be no doubt that the nine Nandas as well as the two forerunners of Asoka: Candagutta and Bindusāra, were altogether historical personages. Here also, in the number of years of Candagutta's reign the Ceylonese tradition agrees completely with the Indian. V. A. SMITH,[2] too, does not hesitate to accept the number 24 as historical.

Besides the renowned counsellor of Candagutta, the brahman Cāṇakka (Skt. Cāṇakya) is known to the Ceylonese Chronicles. In respect of the length of Bindusāra's reign their statements differ from those of the Purāṇas by three years, in respect of that of Asoka by only one year. The Ceylonese tradition concerning Indian history since the Buddha is, therefore, not unsupported.

2. The CONVERSION OF CEYLON is, according to Dīp. and Mah., and finally, according to the unanimous tradition of the country itself, the work of Mahinda, a son of Asoka, and his sister Saṃghamittā. V. A. SMITH calls the stories relating to this in the Chronicles 'a tissue of absurdities'.[3] Asoka himself mentions Ceylon, as he explains, twice in his Inscriptions: in the Rock-Edict XIII, among the countries to which he despatched missionaries, and in Rock-Edict II, among those in which he provides for distribution of medicines.[4] Since these Edicts belong to the thirteenth year

[1] Cf. the tables to § 9.

[2] *Early History of India*, pp. 115–118. Cf. also *Asoka*, p. 95.

[3] *Asoka*, p. 45. OLDENBERG also (*ibid.*, p. 46) considers the tradition a pure invention.

[4] Cf. the translations in V. A. SMITH'S *Asoka*, pp. 129–133 and pp. 115–116. The expression cikisakā (= Skt. cikitsā, p. tikicchā), which SENART translates *remèdes*, is rendered by BÜHLER (see *Z.D.M.G.* 48, 1894, p. 50) 'hospitals'.

of Asoka's reign there appears to be an error in the Ceylonese tradition which puts the conversion of Ceylon as far on as the eighteenth year. On the other hand Asoka, in the opinion of SMITH, would, if he had really handed over his son Mahinda and his daughter Saṃghamittā to the Church, and had brought about the conversion of the king of Ceylon, certainly not have neglected to bring it into notice. The name 'Saṃghamittā' is, he thinks, from its very meaning, suspicious.

I discuss the arguments in the reverse order. The name Saṃghamittā is of course that which she herself assumed on entering the Order. That, beside this name, under which she became a renowned saint of the Buddhist Church, the lay-name fell into complete oblivion can certainly not cause any surprise.

That Asoka makes no mention of Mahinda and Saṃghamittā in his Edicts is an *argumentum e silentio*. That there is any cogency in such an argument V. A. SMITH will surely not maintain. It is indeed very difficult to say in what connexion the king would be obliged to speak of the matter. It can be perhaps expected chiefly in the so-called Minor Rock-Edict I, the Edict of Rūpnāth, Sahasrām and Brahmagiri. But here the reason would again disappear if with FLEET[1] we date this edict in the year 256 A.D. In this case, the sending of Mahinda would be about twenty years earlier than the edict, and would belong to past times.

I certainly do not wish to decide here for or against FLEET's theory. But it is clear that we are standing on too uncertain ground to allow ourselves to proceed without hesitation from an *argumentum e silentio*.

Now, finally, what as to the mention of Missions to Ceylon in the Asoka Inscriptions earlier than the thirteenth year of the king's reign?

I may observe that, at the outset, it is not absolutely certain whether by the Tambapaṇṇi of the Inscriptions Ceylon is really meant. Possibly the name may designate the

[1] 'The Conversion of Asoka,' *J.R.A.S.* 1908, p. 486 foll.; 'The Last Edict of Asoka,' *ib.*, p. 811 foll.; 'The Last Words of Asoka,' *ib.*, 1910, p. 1301 foll.

Tinnevelli district at the southern extremity of India, where the river Tāmraparṇī flows into the sea.[1] But, at the same time, if Tambapaṇṇi should be understood to mean Ceylon the authenticity of Dīp. and Mah. is not affected in the ESSENTIAL points.

Let us look at the positive contents of the tradition. We are certain of: (1) the name Mahinda as the apostle of Ceylon. Nor is that disputed by V. A. SMITH. Here the Ceylonese narrative finds gratifying support from Hiuen-thsang[2] who mentions Mahendra by name expressly as the man by whom the true doctrine was spread abroad in the kingdom of Siṃhala. It is certain: (2) that this Mahendra was a near relative of king Asoka. The Chinese pilgrims call him the younger brother[3] of this latter, the Ceylon Chronicles call him his son. Here we have two conflicting reports, and it would be simply arbitrary to prefer the statement of the Chinese pilgrims to the Ceylonese tradition.

But at what result do we arrive if we put together these established facts and the mention of Ceylon in the earlier Asoka Inscriptions? Simply and solely that which is self-evident, namely, that before Mahinda relations existed between continental India and Ceylon and efforts were made to transplant the Buddhist doctrine to Ceylon.

But with Mahinda this process comes to a successful end. We can understand therefore that all the interest became concentrated in his person, and that tradition wrought together in dramatic fashion that which was a thing of slow continuous development. I consider that this would always and in all circumstances have been the critical judgment on the

[1] *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, s.v. Cf. on this subject HULTSZCH, *J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 1310, n. 4.

[2] ST. JULIEN, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales, par Hiouen-thsang*, ii, p. 140; BEAL, Si-yu-ki, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, transl. from the Chinese of Hiuen-thsang, ii, pp. 246–247; T. WATTERS, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii. 93, 230, 234.

[3] Besides Hiuen-thsang we have mention by Fā-hian (see LEGGE, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms by Fâ-hien*, p. 77) of a younger brother of Asoka, who became a monk, without, however, mention of his name or allusion to the mission to Ceylon.

reports of our Chronicles as to the conversion of Ceylon. The fact, in essential respects, holds good, but it is a question of putting it in the right light.

Besides, a hint that Mahinda's mission was preceded by similar missions to Ceylon is to be found even in Dīp. and Mah., when they relate that Asoka, sending to Devānampiyatissa, with presents for his second consecration as king, exhorted him to adhere to the doctrine of the Buddha.[1]

Certainly on chronological grounds this cannot be immediately connected with the notices of the conversion of Ceylon to be found in the inscriptions. But it shows us that, even from the point of view of the Chronicles of Ceylon, Buddhism was not quite unknown in that country already before Mahinda's time.

3. The History of the Missions as related in Dīp. and Mah.[2] receives most striking confirmation in the inscriptions discovered. On the inner lid of the relic-urn which was found in Tope no. 2 of the Sānchi group there is this inscription: Sapurisa(sa) Majhimasa '(relics) of the pious man Majjhima'. On the outer lid is Sapurisa(sa) Kāsapagotasa Hemāvatācariyasa '(relics) of the pious man Kassapagotta (i.e. of the Kassapa clan), the teacher of the Himalaya'.[3] Now Majjhima is, in fact, named in the Mah. as the teacher who converted the Himalaya region and Kassapagotto thero appears as his companion in the Dīp.[4]

Again in the superscription of a relic-casket from Tope no. 2 of the Sonāri group the same Majjhima is mentioned.

On another urn from the same Tope we again find the name of Kassapagotta, this time with the epithet Kotiputta and again with the designation 'Teacher of the whole Himalaya'.

In a third urn-inscription Gotiputta (i.e. Kotiputta Kassapa-

[1] Dīp. 12. 5–6; Mah. 11. 34–35; Smp. 323^{5-8}.

[2] Dīp. 8. 1–13; Mah. 12. 1–54. Cf. also Smp. 314^{17}–318^{25}.

[3] See Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, p. 287. Cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 299–301.

[4] Mah. 12. 6, 41; Dīp. 8. 10. Cf. Smp. 317^{19}; *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (ed. Strong) 115^{6}, where also Kassapagotta is mentioned together with Majjhima. Cf. also *Mah. Ṭīkā*, 222^{7}.

gotta) appears in connexion with Dadabhisāra. This is evidently the Dundubhissara of the Dīp. and the Mahābodhivaṃsa who was also among those theras who won the Himalaya countries to the Buddha's doctrine.[1]

Finally the name of the thera who, according to tradition, presided over the third council under Asoka's rule, is also shown to be authentic by an inscription in a relic-casket from Tope no. 2 of the Sānchi group.[2] There is no doubt that by the Sapurisasa Mogaliputasa is meant the Moggaliputta Tissa of the Ceylonese Chronicles.

4. Moreover, the narrative of the transplanting of a branch of the sacred Bodhi-tree from Uruvelā to Ceylon finds interesting confirmation in the monuments.

At least GRÜNWEDEL, in an ingenious and, to me, convincing way,[3] points out that the sculptures of the lower and middle architraves of the East Gate of the Sānchi Tope are representations of that event. Since the Sānchi-sculptures belong to the second century B.C. the representation is distant from the event by roughly speaking, only 100 or at most 150 years.

§ 4. Errors in the Chronology of the Earliest Historical Period.

I consider that such objective confirmation of the Chronicles proves at the very least this much: that their statements are not absolutely untenable and are at least worthy of being tested. Naturally they are not infallible and the longer the interval between the time of the events and the time when they are related, the greater the possibility of an objective error, and so much the more will the influence of legend be noticeable.

As regards the oldest period from Vijaya to Devanaṃpiyatissa we feel a certain distrust of the tradition and traditional

[1] CUNNINGHAM, *l. l.*, pp. 316–317.

[2] CUNNINGHAM, *l. l.*, p. 289.

[3] GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhist. Kunst in Indien*, pp. 72–73. Cf. also RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, p. 302.

chronology from the very fact that Vijaya's arrival in Ceylon is dated on the day of the Buddha's death.[1] This seems to be a biassed account. Besides, there are the round numbers for the length of the single reigns which have in themselves the appearance of a set scheme and involve, moreover, a positive impossibility in respect of the last two kings of that period, PAṆḌUKĀBHAYA and MUṬASIVA.

According to our Chronicles[2] Paṇḍukābhaya was born shortly before the death of Paṇḍuvāsudeva. Then followed the reign of Abhaya, twenty years, and an interregnum of seventeen years. Then Paṇḍukābhaya ascends the throne at the age of thirty-seven years. He reigns seventy years. That would bring his age to 107 years!

This, however, is not enough. Paṇḍukābhaya's successor is his son Muṭasiva. He is born of Suvaṇṇapāli whom Paṇḍukābhaya had already married before the beginning of his reign. Muṭasiva must then have been past the prime of manhood when he succeeded to the throne. In spite of this a reign of sixty years is attributed to him.

It seems to me that certain names and events in the tradition may indeed be maintained, but that the last reigns were lengthened in order to make Vijaya and the Buddha contemporaries.

That in respect of certain facts, the tradition is by no means without value for that first period of Ceylonese history, is shown, for instance, by the account of Paṇḍukābhaya's campaigns,[3] which decidedly gives an impression of trustworthiness.

Also after Devānampiyatissa's reign we find matter for doubt.[4] A reign of forty years is attributed to the king

[1] Mah. 6. 47. In the Dīp. 9. 21–22 it is stated, in a somewhat more general way, that *at the time* of the death of the Buddha (parinibbāṇasamaye, not precisely on the day of the death) Vijaya landed in Ceylon. The same in Smp. 320[20].

[2] Dīp. 11. 1, 4; Mah. 9. 28; 10. 106. See previously TURNOUR, *Maháwanso*, Introd., p. li.

[3] Mah. 10. 26 foll. See below, Appendix C, p. 288 foll.

[4] Cf. also on this subject FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 340.

mentioned, who is said to have been Muṭasiva's second son, although he was no longer young when he ascended the throne. But to him succeeded three younger brothers, Uttiya,[1] Mahāsiva and Sūratissa, each of whom reigned ten (= thirty) years. Nay, after the intervening rule of the two *Damiḷas*, Sena and Guttika, which lasted twelve years, a fourth brother, Asela, ascends the throne and also reigns ten years.

The reigns of the sons of Muṭasiva, who himself occupied the throne for sixty years, would then cover a period of ninety-two years!

We see clearly that also in the period between Devānaṃpiyatissa and Duṭṭhagāmaṇi there were still gaps in the tradition which were filled in with fictitious construction. For the line of Devānaṃpiyatissa we have again the remarkable round numbers 40 + 10 + 10 + 10 + 10.

In the later periods we encounter no such difficulties and impossibilities. The chronology is credible, the numbers appear less artificial and more trustworthy.

But even in that first historical period one fact stands out clearly and distinctly from the wavering traditions concerning the times immediately before and after. That is the reign of Devānaṃpiyatissa and the arrival of Mahinda in Ceylon. And with this we approach the general standpoint from which we have to judge the historical tradition as to the earliest and earlier times in our Chronicles.

§ 5. The Year of the Buddha's Death.

We have to do with a monkish tradition. The starting-point of its chronological statements is the year of the Buddha's death. For this tradition naturally not every event nor every historical personage is important to an equal degree, but chiefly in so far as they were of importance for the development of the Buddhist community. There are isolated occurrences and personalities connected, even in early times,

[1] The name of Uttiya and his consort is confirmed by an inscription in Periya-Puliyankulam (Northern Province). See *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report*, 1905 (xx. 1909), p. 45.

with a certain date which announced the time that had passed since the Buddha's death.[1] As for the intervening period the traditions concerning it were far less well established and precise, especially from the chronological point of view.

Here fictions were made. building up and completing the tradition from which subsequently, with those fixed points as framework, the chronological system was developed that we find in the Dīp. and Mah., as also in the Introduction to the Smp., and again in the later historical literature of Ceylon. In the Dīp., the oldest source accessible to us, this system appears already complete. It is most certainly not a creation of the author of the Chronicle but only taken over, in all probability, from the Aṭṭhakathā.

One of the fixed dates, which was established at a specially early period, and which evidently forms the corner-stone of the whole system, is the number 218 for the consecration (abhiseka) of Asoka. The Dīp. 6. 1, says:—

dve satāni ca vassāni aṭṭhārasa vassāni ca ı
saṃbuddhe parinibbute abhisitto Piyadassano ıı

'218 years after the Saṃbuddha had passed into Nirvāṇa Piyadassano (Asoka) was consecrated.'

And the Mah. 5. 21 :—

Jinanibbāṇato pacchā purā tassābhisekato
Saṭṭhārasaṃ vassasatadvayaṃ evaṃ vijāniyaṃ.

'After the Nirvāṇa of the Conqueror and before his (Asoka's) consecration there were 218 years; this should be known.'

[1] In the same way, to date the Mahāvīra in the Jaina tradition the number 155 is evidently decisive as being the sum total of the years between his death and the beginning of Candragupta's reign. See Hemacandra's *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, ed. JACOBI, viii. 339; Pref., p. 6. If we accept the year 321 B.C. for this last event we have as result 476 B.C. as the year of Mahāvīra's death. Certainly this is in contradiction with the Buddhist reckoning in so far as, according to Majjh. Nik. II. 243[18] foll., the 'Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta' (i.e. the Mahāvīra) must have died BEFORE the Buddha. OLDENBERG, *Z.D.M.G.* 34, p. 749.

THAT IS TO SAY, THAT AFTER A LAPSE OF 218 YEARS, i. e. SOMETIME IN THE YEAR 219 AFTER THE BUDDHA'S DEATH, THE CONSECRATION OF ASOKA TOOK PLACE.[1]

Since Asoka had already reigned four years before he performed the abhiseka ceremony[2] his accession falls 214 years after the Nirvāṇa. According to the Ceylonese tradition the reign of Asoka was preceded by that of Bindusāra, lasting twenty-eight, and that of Candagutta lasting twenty-four years (Mah. 5. 18; Dīp. 5. 100). Thus Candagutta would have ascended the throne 214 − (28 + 24 years), i. e. 162 years after the Nirvāṇa.[3] Now this event is one of the few in the earlier Indian history which we can date with some approach to certainty. It falls in the year 321 B.C. or within two years of this date,[4] allowing for error.

THUS THERE RESULTS AS THE PROBABLE YEAR OF THE BUDDHA'S DEATH (321 + 162) = 483 B.C. As he died at the age of eighty years the year of his birth should be put at 563 B.C.

But we must emphatically state that this calculation too is hypothetical, that we are only able to give an approximate and not a perfectly exact result. Moreover, we shall see below that, in the Ceylon Chronicles themselves, there is a contradiction which we can hardly pass by.

First of all the whole calculation, as OLDENBERG[5] has quite justly insisted, rests on the supposition that the date

[1] Slightly different in the Smp., p. 299[20], which puts the abhiseka in the year 218 (dvinnaṃ vassasatānaṃ upari aṭṭhārasame vasse). On the tradition on Asoka's age of the Northern Buddhists see § 11.

[2] Dīp. 6. 21–22; cf. Smp. *l.l.* Moreover, Mah. 5. 22 contains the same statement. NORMAN, *J.R.A.S.* 1908, p. 10, is mistaken when he says that, according to the Mah., accession should be put at the year 218 A.B. and the abhiseka at 222.

[3] With this calculation cf. FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1906, pp. 984–986 and 1909, p. 1 foll., and particularly p. 28 foll. See also WICKREMASINGHE, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, i, p. 142, n. 7.

[4] V. A. SMITH, *J.R.A.S.* 1901, pp. 831–834; *Early History of India*, pp. 38–39.

[5] *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1910, p. 611.

218 for Asoka's abhiseka is authentic. It really seems to me that it is just on this very point that scepticism is least necessary. The date is supported by the best testimony and has nothing in it to call for suspicion. The interval of time is certainly not so great that the preserving, within the ecclesiastical world, of a definite tradition as to an event of such great importance should be improbable or indeed impossible.

On the other hand we must not forget that the date 321 for Candragupta's accession, which forms a point of support for the hypothesis, is only approximately correct. A little shifting back or forward is therefore quite possible.

Finally, there is the supposition that the length of Candagutta's reign (twenty-four years) and Bindusāra's (twenty-eight) is established with certainty. Now it seems indeed that, with regard to the former, scepticism is quite out of place. Here the northern tradition is in agreement with the southern,[1] which is certainly an important point. On the other hand there is a difference of three years in respect of Bindusāra's reign. Here again there is a possibility that the date may be shifted.

Nevertheless it does seem that on the much-disputed question of the year of the Buddha's death there is a tendency toward unison. Marked differences of view are disappearing, the accepted dates are less far removed one from another.[2]

The chronology current in Ceylon, Burma, Siam starts out from the middle of the year 544 B.C.[3] as the date of the Nirvāṇa. That this date is wrong and contains an error of, roughly speaking, sixty years, is now, we may say, generally admitted. Moreover, FLEET[4] has pointed out that this reckoning is by no means based on a continuous tradition

[1] Cf. below the tables to § 9.

[2] For earlier views see FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1909, pp. 4–5; MABEL DUFF, *Chronology of India*, p. 7; KERN, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 107, n. 6.

[3] Not 543! See WICKREMASINGHE, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, i, p. 122, n. 7. The year of Buddha, 2444, began on May 13, 1900.

[4] 'The Origin of the Buddhavarsha, the Ceylonese Reckoning from the Death of Buddha,' *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 323 foll., esp. 332.

from early times. It is rather a relatively late fabrication, *which probably does not go back further than the twelfth century* A.D.[1] *How the error of sixty years came into the* era certainly still needs explanation.

Again, the date 477 B.C. as the year of the Buddha's death, which was accepted by MAX MÜLLER and CUNNINGHAM, must be given up. It rests on the erroneous premise that the year of Candragupta's accession was 315 B.C.[2]

V. A. SMITH[3] accepts 487 or 486 B.C. as the year of the Nirvāṇa, GOPALA AIYER,[4] who starts from 269 as the year of Asoka's coronation, the year 486 B.C. Both attach some importance, it would seem, to the so-called 'dotted Record',[5] which was continued in Canton up to the year 489 A. D. and marks each year, from the date of the Buddha onwards, with a dot. In the year 489 A. D. the number of dots amounted to 975, which would bring us to the year 486 B.C. as the starting-point.

I would not for my part attach too much importance to this 'dotted Record'. It is singularly improbable that in the course of time—it is a question of nearly a thousand years!—not a single error or oversight should have occurred. The essential, to my thinking, is that the difference between the various reckonings is already reduced by now to three or four years. But if V. A. SMITH, from his own standpoint, arrives at a result so closely approaching that to which the corrected Ceylon-Tradition brings us, he might well have been led to a somewhat milder judgment as to their trustworthiness and their value.

Finally, the whole difference comes down to this: whether, agreeing with the Purāṇas, we allow Bindusāra a reign of twenty-five years, or, in agreement with the Mahāvaṃsa, allow him twenty-eight years. In the former case we come to the

[1] As it now appears (see below) in the eleventh century.

[2] *S.B.E.*, x, 2nd ed., 1908, pp. 43–47.

[3] *Early History of India*, pp. 41–43.

[4] 'The Date of Buddha,' *Ind. Ant.* xxxvii, 1908, p. 341 foll.

[5] See TAKAKUSU, *J.R.A.S.* 1896, p. 436 foll.; 1897, p. 113; FLEET, *ib.*, 1909, p. 9.

year 486 as the year of the Nirvāṇa, in the latter case to 483 B.C. *If we then take the 219th year after the Nirvāṇa as the year of Asoka's* abhiseka, *there results in the former* case 268/67 B.C., in the latter 265/64 B.C.

It would be of great importance to us if we might refer the date 256 at the end of the so-called 'Minor Rock-Edict I'[1] to the years elapsed from the Nirvāṇa to the publication of the Edict. This opinion was formerly held, represented particularly by BÜHLER and FLEET.[2]

But recently the interpretation of that Edict was cleared up to a certain extent. The merit belongs to F. W. THOMAS.[3] He was the first to point out that the expressions vivuṭhena and vivāsā (vivuthā), which appear in connexion with the number 256, should be derived from vi-vas in the sense 'to be absent from home, to dwell far away'. Then in his second article he has ingeniously demonstrated that the number 256 does not denote years but nights, i.e. nights and days. In the Sahasrām text he first discovered the word lāti=rātri in duve sapaṃnālātisatā = Skt. dve ṣaṭpañcāsarātriśate.

These discoveries were acknowledged both by FLEET and HULTZSCH.[4] But now opinions diverge. F. W. THOMAS takes it to mean that Asoka published the Edict when on a religious journey. The number would refer to the 256 changes of camp in the course of this tour of inspection.

But FLEET interprets vivutha and vivāsa in another way. According to him the allusion is to the renunciation of the household life, to the life far from house and family. He takes it to mean that Asoka after a reign of thirty-seven years had renounced the throne and the world to spend the rest of his life in religious retreat. His dwelling was the mountain

[1] The Edict is to be found in Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, in Brahmagiri and elsewhere. V. A. SMITH, *Asoka*, p. 138, n. 3.

[2] Cf. BÜHLER, *Epigraphia Indica*, iii. 138; FLEET, 'The last Edict of Asoka,' *J.R.A.S.* 1908, p. 811 foll.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* xxxvii, 1908, pp. 22–23, and especially 'Les vivāsāḥ d'Aśoka', *Journal Asiatique*, May–June, 1910, p. 507 foll.

[4] FLEET, 'The Last Words of Asoka,' *J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 1302 foll.; HULTZSCH, 'A Third Note on the Rūpnāth Edict,' *ib.*, p. 1308 foll.

Suvarṇagiri near Girivraja in Magadha.[1] Hence in the passage which is preamble to the Edict in the Mysore versions Suvarṇagiri is named, and not the capital Pāṭaliputra, as the place where the Edict, the 'last word of Asoka', was published.

Moreover, the number 256 has, according to FLEET, a special significance. It was not by chance that Asoka published the Edict on the 256th day of his life in retreat. At this very time the 256th year since the Nirvāṇa came to an end. Asoka would thus have spent, for each year elapsed since the Buddha's death, one day in religious contemplation as a brahmacārī.

This is a very ingenious idea. But it would be hazardous for the present time to base further conclusions on this bold and seductive combination.

§ 6. Traces of an era in Ceylon reckoned from 483 B.C.

Recently, however, the date 483 seems to have found further support. Here we must take into consideration an important observation of WICKREMASINGHE,[2] which completes the proof adduced by FLEET and discussed above, of the late origin of the Ceylonese era, that starts from the year 544. Indications are to be found that in earlier times, and indeed down to the beginning of the eleventh century, an era persisted even in Ceylon which was reckoned from 483 B.C., as the year of the Buddha's death. From the middle of the eleventh century the new era took its rise, being reckoned from the year 544, and this is still in use.

In dealing with the question we have to date the immediate predecessors of king Parākramabāhu I, beginning with Udaya III (1507 A.B.).[3]

As to Parākramabāhu I, we have information from inscrip-

[1] Cf. also on this, FLEET, 'The Conversion of Asoka,' *J.R.A.S.* 1908, p. 486 *foll.*

[2] See *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, i, p. 155 foll.

[3] The names are given in WIJESIṆHA, The Mahávaṇsa, Part II, translated, pp. xxii–xxiii.

tions, confirmed and completed by literary data, according to which he was crowned when 1696 years had elapsed since the Buddha's death, that is, in the year 1697 A.B. Eight years later, 1705 A.B., a second coronation apparently took place. In the fourth year afterwards, when 1708 years had gone by since the Nirvāṇa, that is, in 1709 A. B., he held a Buddhist Synod.[1] According to the Ceylonese era those are the years 1153, 1161, 1165 A. D. But this date for Parākramabāhu is supported by an entirely independent source, namely a South-Indian inscription at the Temple of Tiruvālīśvara in Ārpākkama. Thus for the second half of the twelfth century the existence of the Ceylon era, reckoned from 544, is established with certainty.

Now according to the Cūlavaṃsa[2] (56. 16 foll.) the six predecessors of Parākramabāhu, from Parākrama Pāṇḍu onwards, reigned 107 years. Thus the accession of the last-named prince falls at 1590 A. B. or, according to the Ceylonese era, 1046 A. D. Moreover, this date is confirmed by the South-Indian Maṇimaṅgalam inscription, which is dated in the same year.[3]

According to the latter, Parākrama Pāṇḍu was conquered and killed in this year by the Coḷa king Rājādhirāja I. It is true the Cūlavaṃsa gives Parākrama Pāṇḍu a reign of two years, but we must rather take the accession and death of the king as falling in one and the same year, 1590 A. B. = 1046 A. D. Thus it is proved, at the same time, that the Ceylon-era also existed in the middle of the eleventh century.

But from a South-Indian inscription we can also fix a date for Udaya III among the predecessors of Parākrama Paṇḍu, a date which throws a completely new light on the whole reckoning of eras.

[1] See the Galvihāra-Insc. of Poḷonnaruwa, ll. 1–4 (ED. MÜLLER, *Ancient Inscr. of Ceylon*, pp. 87, 120); *Nikāya-sangraha*, ed. WICKREMASINGHE, pp. 20[26], 22[6]. Cf. *Epigr. Zeyl.* i, p. 123.

[2] I designate thus the later continuation of the Mahāvaṃsa from 37. 51 onwards.

[3] HULTZSCH, *South Indian Inscriptions*, iii, no. 28, p. 53; *Epigr. Zeyl.* pp. 80, 155.

Since, according to the Cūlavaṃsa,[1] the time between the accession of Udaya III and that of Parākrama Pāṇḍu amounts to ninety-three years eight days, and, as we saw above, the latter ascended the throne in 1590 A. B., we have consequently for the accession of this former king the date 1497 A. B. But this year, according to the Tanjore inscription of king Rājendra Coḷadeva, must be about the year 1015 A. D.

The inscription[2] gives an account of a military expedition to Ceylon. This invasion by Coḷa corresponds as to its details with one which, according to the Cūlavaṃsa 53. 40 foll., occurred under Udaya III at the beginning of his reign. KIELHORN has calculated the time of Coḷadeva's accession as between the end of 1011 and the middle of 1012 A. D.; the expedition falls between the fourth and sixth year of the reign, that is, between 1015 and 1018. These years must coincide with the years 1497 and 1498 A. B. Of the 1497 years (−1015) remain 482, which fall within pre-Christian times. In other words: THE BUDDHA DIED 483 B. C.

So, with WICKREMASINGHE (*l. l.*, p. 157) we must state the matter thus. The author of that part of the Cūlavaṃsa which deals with the kings from Udaya III to Parākramabāhu I lived at a time when the present era, reckoned from 544 B. C., was in use. He was acquainted with three well-established dates, 1497, 1590, and 1692 A. B., for the accession of Udaya III, Parākrama Pāṇḍu, and Parākramabāhu I. But he did not know that the first of the three dates was based on quite a different era, reckoned from 483 B. C. The interval between Udaya III and Parākrama Pāṇḍu amounted, in his view, to ninety-three years, but was in reality only thirty-one years (1015–1046 A. D.).

Certainly, considering the detail in which the events of the period from Udaya III to Parākrama Pāṇḍu are described by the Cūlavaṃsa, it is difficult to say at what point we should undertake to strike out the surplus of sixty-two years. The

[1] See WIJESIṆHA, *l. l.*, p. xxii.

[2] HULTZSCH, *South Indian Inscr.* ii, no. 9, pp. 90–93; KIELHORN, *Epigraphia Indica*, vii, p. 7; *Epigr. Zeyl.* i, p. 79.

principal part must perhaps fall within the reign of Mahinda V and the interregnum that followed, for which thirty-six years and twelve years are set down. But that the tradition regarding the period in question is not well established is easily explained by the unrest and confusion which prevailed at that time.

§ 7. The dates of Devānaṃpiyatissa and Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

The tradition according to which Asoka was consecrated king 218 years after the Nirvāṇa certainly arose in India. The first envoys of Buddhism brought it to Ceylon with them, and here A CHRONOLOGICAL CONNEXION WAS ESTABLISHED BETWEEN THE REIGN OF ASOKA AND THAT OF DEVĀNAṂPIYATISSA, under whom Buddhism made its entry into Ceylon.

That Devānaṃpiyatissa and Asoka were really contemporaries we have no reason to doubt. On the one hand the Ceylonese tradition concerning the missions is supported by the discoveries in the Bhilsa-topes. On the other hand we know from Asoka's inscriptions that as a matter of fact an eager missionary-activity prevailed in his time.

According to the Dīpavaṃsa DEVĀNAṂPIYATISSA was consecrated king 236 years after the Buddha's death,[1] i.e. in the 237th year. According to the Mah. 11. 40 the consecrating of Devānaṃpiyatissa took place on the first day of the bright half of the ninth month, Maggasira (October–November).

Now since, according to Dīp. 11. 14, the consecration of Tissa was later by a certain number of years—I shall discuss the passage further on—AND SIX MONTHS later—than the abhiseka of Asoka, this latter event must have taken place

[1] Dīp. 17. 78:
dve satāni ca vassāni chattiṃsa ca saṃvacchare
saṃbuddhe parinibbute abhisitto Devānaṃpiyo.
Observe that the formula used is the same as in 6. 1 for dating Asoka's abhiseka. See above, p. xxiii. The date 236 is also to be found in the *Nikāya-saṃgraha*, ed. WICKREMASINGHE, p. 10[3], and it results in Dīp. and Mah. as the sum total of the reigns of all the kings from Vijaya to Devānaṃpiyatissa.

in the third month Jeṭṭha (April–May),[1] and in fact, as we know, in the 219th year after the Nirvāṇa.

According to the tradition prevailing in Ceylon[2] the Buddha died on the full-moon day of the second month of the year Vesākha (March–April), according to our reckoning: of the year 483 B.C. Thus on the same day 265 B.C. the year 218 A.B. would have come to an end. A month later, roughly speaking, Asoka would be consecrated. In the month Vesākha, 247 B.C. the year 236 A.B. came to an end. In the autumn of the same year the first coronation of Devānaṃpiyatissa took place. A second coronation[3] of this king was celebrated in the following Vesākha (March–April), 246 B.C.

But there are certain statements which are not in agreement with this reckoning. In a passage in the Dīp.[4] it is said that Mahinda came to Ceylon 236 years after the Nirvāṇa. And it is said expressly that this arrival took place on the full-moon day of the third month Jeṭṭha (April–May).[5] But a new Buddha-year had begun in the preceding month. Thus if Tissa's first consecration falls in the 237th year A.B., then Mahinda's arrival falls in the 238th, that is, not 236 but 237 years had elapsed since the Nirvāṇa.

This contradiction was discovered by FLEET[6] who made an ingenious attempt to explain it.

The full-moon day of Vesākha as the day of the Buddha's death is open to doubt. This day recurs only too frequently in the Buddha's life. On the other hand FLEET points out

[1] On the names of the months in the Indian calendar see our transl., note to 1. 12.

[2] Mah. 3. 2; Buddhaghosa in Sum. I. 6[10] and Smp. 283[3, 4]. Cf. Dīp. 5. 1 foll. for the same results.

[3] Dīp. 11. 39; Mah. 11. 42.

[4] Dīp. 15. 71:

dve vassasatā honti chattiṃsa ca vassā tathā
Mahindo nāma nāmena jotayissati sāsanaṃ.

[5] Dīp. 12. 44; 17. 88 (thirty days after the second consecration!); Mah. 13. 18. At Dīp. 11. 40 read tato māsaṃ atikkamma. See OLDENBERG, note on this passage.

[6] 'The Day on which Buddha died.' *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 1 foll.; particularly 6, 11, 31.

that according to a notice in Hiuen-thsang the sect of the Sarvāstivādins puts the date of the Nirvāṇa, contrary to the usual statement, at the eighth day of the second half of the eighth month of the year, Kattika (Sept.- Oct.).[1] Following this FLEET reckons the day of the Buddha's death as falling on October 13, 483 B.C.

If we take this day as our point of departure the above-mentioned contradiction disappears. The year 218 A.B. came then to an end on October 13, 265, and Asoka was not crowned in this year, but in the year 264 B.C. in the third month.[2] The year 236 A.B. ends on October 13, 247 B.C., a month later in the year 237 A.B. Tissa was consecrated king;[3] in the same year, five months later, there followed the second[4] coronation, and yet one month later the arrival of Mahinda in Ceylon.

We have then the following dates:—

1. October 13, 265, end of the year 218 A.B.
2. April 25, 264, Asoka's abhiseka.
3. October 13, 247, end of the year 236 A.B.
4. November 6, 247, Tissa's first coronation.
5. April 16, 246, Tissa's second coronation.
6. May 16, 246, Mahinda comes to Ceylon.

But here I must point out a difficulty which shows, to say the least, that our sources are not always exact in their calculation of time supposing we do not accept a variation by even one year. The death of Muṭasiva, and therefore also the first crowning of Devānaṃpiyatissa, we find transferred to the seventeenth year of Asoka, in Smp. 321[1], and, as it appears, also in Dīp. 11. 14.[5]

[1] See BEAL, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, ii, p. 33; STANISLAS JULIEN, *Mémoires*, i, pp. 334–335.

[2] The day, according to FLEET, is April 25. *J.R.A.S.* 1909, pp. 26 and 31.

[3] According to FLEET, *l. l.*, p. 32, on November 6.

[4] According to FLEET, *l. l.*, on April 16.

[5] The phrasing in the Smp. Asokadhammarājassa sattarasame vasse idha Muṭasivarājā kālaṃ akāsi Devānaṃpiyatisso rajjaṃ pāpuṇi is not at all ambiguous. The Dīp. expresses

But now even if we set out from April 25, 264 (not 265) B.C. as the date of Asoka's abhiseka, the seventeenth year is already ended on the same day of 247. Then Tissa's coronation, as the dates 218 and 236 have already shown, falls, without any doubt, in the eighteenth (not seventeenth) year of Asoka.

But that notice in the Smp. is not an isolated example. At Mah. 20. 1 the planting of the Bodhi-tree in Anurādhapura is transferred to the eighteenth year of Asoka. This, too, does not agree with the reckoning elsewhere. There can be no doubt that that event falls in the nineteenth year of Asoka.[1] Naturally, together with that chronological statement, other dates based upon it and given by the Mahāvaṃsa 20. 2 foll. are shifted also.

It suffices to point out these discrepancies. They are merely to show that caution is after all not out of place.

2. Further, there is an interesting date connected with the time of VAṬṬAGĀMAṆI. We have, namely, according to Mah. 33. 80–81, an interval of 217 years 10 months and 10 days between the founding of the Mahāvihāra by Devānaṃpiyatissa and that of the Abhayagiri-vihāra by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi.[2]

The date of the consecration of the Mahāvihāra can be exactly ascertained by the Ceylon chronology. On the full-moon day of the month Jeṭṭha Mahinda came to Ceylon. This was, according to FLEET's calculation,[3] May 16 (246 B.C.). A day later, on May 17, Mahinda came to the capital and

itself less clearly; however, by the words tamhi sattarase vasse chamāse ca anāgate I can only understand that there were six months still to come to complete the seventeenth year.

[1] We can hardly use the passage Dīp. 12. 42–43 for chronology. But it seems to give the correct reckoning, the nineteenth year of Asoka, for Mahinda's arrival in Ceylon.

[2] The same date, possibly taken from the Mah., is to be found in the Nik. Saṃgr., p. 11[16]. The Mah. Ṭīkā, p. 115 (on Mah. 5. 11–13), gives as the date of the schism of the Dhammarucikā of the Abhayagiri the round number of 217 years after the founding of the faith in Ceylon.

[3] *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 28. For the following cf. Mah. 14. 42; 15. 11, 24.

spent the night in the Mahāmeghavana. This the king presented to Mahinda and his companions as an ārāma on the following day, May 18, 246 B.C. This then is the day of the founding of the Mahāvihāra. We are brought then to the end of March 28 B.C. for the founding of the Abhayagiri-vihāra.

I now believe that we ought to attach special importance precisely to those dates which state generally the interval between two important events. The date number 218 in connexion with Vaṭṭagāmaṇi was also known in later times.

It is implied in the number 454 of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi in the Galvihāra-Inscription of Polonnaruwa.[1] For this has evidently arisen from the addition of 236 (the date of Devānampiya-tissa) to 218.

Moreover, there can be no doubt as to the statement in Mah. 33. 78 foll. that the founding of the Abhayagiri-vihāra took place in the second half of the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. Therefore I do not hesitate to place the beginning of this second half of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's reign at the end of the year 29 or the beginning of the year 28 B.C.

Of course this leads us into certain difficulties when we add up the figures of the individual reigns between Devānampiya-tissa and Vaṭṭagāmaṇi according to the readings accepted in my edition. From these figures it results that Vaṭṭagāmaṇi ascended the throne for the second time in the year 39 B.C. We have then a difference, in round numbers, of about ten years.

This difficulty disappears if we read[2] Mah. 21. 11, with the Singhalese MSS. (duve) dvāvīsavassāni, not with the Burmese duve dvādasa vassāni, to give thus to the Damiḷas Sena and Guttika twenty-two and not twelve years' reign. To be sure the Dīp. (18. 47) has dvādasa vassāni, which certainly must be taken into account. On the other hand the later Ceylonese literature (Thūpavaṃsa, Pūjāvaliya, Rājā-

[1] ED. MÜLLER, *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, p. 87 (Sāra siya supænæs hawuruddak). See FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 330.

[2] In my edition I originally accepted the former reading, however in the 'Corrections' (p. 368) I have given the preference to dvādasa.

valiya[1]) only gives the number 22. In any case at the time the Thūp. was composed, according to it, the date stood so in the Mah.

Naturally, to be consequent, we must also read Mah. 27. 6 in the prophecy concerning Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, with the Sinhalese MSS. cha cattālīsa sataṃ '146' or cattālīsa sataṃ '140'. From the point of view of textual criticism the latter reading seems to me to be the safer; also I should be inclined to believe that in this connexion a round number would be more appropriate.

I confess that I only brought myself unwillingly to depart from the reading of the Burmese MSS. They contain elsewhere, without doubt, the better text. Perhaps we must conclude that, in regard to Sena and Guttika, the Burmese recension adopted the reading of the Dīp. and that, in accordance with this, in Mah. 27. 6, also the number was altered to chattiṃsasatavassāni to do away with the mistake thus caused in the addition total.

Taking as a basis the date 483 B.C. we can provisionally draw up a list of the kings according to Dīp. and Mah.[2]

§ 8. List of the Ancient Kings of Ceylon.

No.	Name	Dīp.	Mah.	Length of Reign: Dīp. (Y. M. D.)	Length of Reign: Mah. (Y. M. D.)	Buddh. Era 483 B.C.	Christian Era
1	Vijaya	9.42	7.74	*38* — —	*38* — —	*1-38*	*483-445*
	Interregnum . .	11.9	8 5	*1* — —	*1* — —	*38-39*	*445-444*
2.	Paṇḍuvāsudeva .	10.5	9.25	*30* — —	*30* — —	*39-69*	*444-414*
3	Abhaya	10.7	10.52	*20* — —	*20* — —	*69-89*	*414-394*
	Interregnum . .	11.11	10 105	*17* — —	*17* — —	*89-106*	*394-377*
4	Paṇḍukābhaya . .	11.4	10.106	*70* — —	*70* — —	*106-176*	*377-307*
5	Muṭasiva	11 5 (17.78)	11.4	*60* — —	*60* — —	*176-236*	*307-247*
				236 — —	236 — —		

[1] For the passages see Dīp. and Mah., p. 120.

[2] See FLEET's list, *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 350. The particular aim of this Introduction obliges me, on my side, to draw up a table to enable the reader of the translation to take a rapid survey.

No.	Name	Dīp.	Mah.	Length of Reign: Dīp. Y. M. D.	Length of Reign: Mah. Y. M. D.	Buddh. Era 483 B.C.	Christian Era
							B.C.
6	Devānaṃpiyatissa.	17 92	20.28	40 — —	40 — —	236-276	247-207
7	Uttiya	17.93	20.57	*10* — —	*10* — —	276-286	207-*197*
8	Mahāsiva	18.45	21.1	*10* — —	*10* — —	*286-296*	*197-187*
9	Sūratissa	18.46	21.3	*10* — —	*10* — —	*296-306*	*187-177*
10	Sena .	18.47	21.11	*12* — —	*22*[1] — —	*306-328*	*177-155*
11	Guttika . . .						
12	Asela	18.48	21.12	*10* — —	*10* — —	*328-338*	*155-145*
13	Eḷāra	18 49	21.14 (27.6)	*44* — —	*44* — —	*338-382*	*145-101*
				136 — —	146 — —		
14	Duṭṭhagamaṇi . .	18.54	32.35, 57	24 — —	24 — —	382-406	101-77
15	Saddhātissa . . .	20 7	33.4	18 — —	18 — —	406-424	77-59
16	Thūlathana . . .	20.8	33.19	— 1 10	— 1 10	424	59
17	Lañjatissa . . .	20.9	33.28	9 6 —	9 — 15	424-433	59-50
18	Khallāṭanāga . .	20.12	33.29	6 — —	6 — —	433-439	50-44
	(Mahārattaka) .	20.13	—	— — 1	— — —	—	—
				57 7 11	57 1 25		
19	Vaṭṭagāmaṇi . .	20.14	33.37	— 5 —	— 5 —	439[2]	44
	Five Damiḷas . .	20.15-17	33.56-61	14 7 —	14 7 —	439-454	44-29
20	Pulahattha (3 y.)						
21	Bāhiya (2 y.) . .						
22	Panayamāva (7 y.)						
23	Piḷayamāva (7 m.)						
24	Dāṭhika (2 y.) . .						
(19)	Vaṭṭagāmaṇi . .	20.19	33.102	12 — —	12 — —	454-466	29-17
25	MahācūlīMahātissa	20.22	34.1	14 — —	14 — —	466-480	17-3
26	Coranāga	20.24	34.13	12 — —	12 — —	480-492	3 B.C.-9 A.D.
27	Tissa	20 25	34.15	3 — —	3 — —	492-495	9 A.D.-12 A.D.
28	Siva			1 2 —	1 2 —		
29	Vaṭuka . . .			1 2 —	1 2 —		A.D.
30	Dārubhatikatissa	20.26-30	34.18-27	1 1 —	1 1 —	495-499	12 16
31	Nilīya			— 3 —	— 6 —		
32	Anulā			— 4 —	— 4 —		
				60 — —	60 3 —		
33	Kuṭakaṇṇatissa . .	20.35	34.30	22 — —	22 — —	499-521	16-38
34	Bhātikābhaya . .	21.30	34.37	28 — —	28 — —	521-549	38-66
35	Mahādāṭhikamahā- -nāga	21.33	34.69	12 — —	12 — —	549-561	66-78
36	Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi .	21.37	35.1	9 8 —	9 8 —	561-571	78-88
37	Kaṇirajānutissa .	21.38	35 9	3 — —	3 — —	571-574	88-91
38	Cūlābhaya . . .	21.40	35.12	1 — —	1 — —	574-575	91-92
39	Sīvalī	21.41	35.14	— 4 —	— 4 —	575	92
	Interregnum . .	—	35.27	— — —	3 — —	575-578	92-95

[1] According to the Burmese MSS. only 12 years. See p. xxxv.

[2] See the same figure Nik. saṃgr. 10[14].

No.	Name	Dīp.	Mah.	Length of Reign: Dīp. Y. M. D.	Length of Reign: Mah. Y. M. D.	Buddh. Era 483 B. C.	Christian Era
40	Ilanāga	21.43	35.45	6 — —	6 — —	578-584	95-101
41	Candamukhasiva .	21.45	35.46	8 7 —	8 7 —	584-593	101-110
42	Yasalālakatissa . .	21.46	35.50	8 7 —	7 8 —	593-601	110-118
43	Subharāja . . .	21.48	35.56	6 — —	6 — —	601-607	118-124
44	Vasabha	22.11	35.100	44 — —	44 — —	607-651	124-168
45	Vaṅkanāsikatissa .	22.12, 27	35.112	3 — —	3 — —	651-654	168-171
46	Gajabāhukagāmaṇi	22.14, 28	35 115	22 — —	22 — —	654-676	171-193
47	Mahallanāga . .	22.17, 29	35.123	6 — —	6 — —	676-682	193-199
				180 2 —	182 3 —		
48	Bhātikatissa . . .	22.22, 30	36.1	24 — —	24 — —	682 706	199-223
49	Kaniṭṭhatissa . .	22.25, 31	36.6	18 — —	18 — —	706-724	223-241
50	Khujjanāga . . .	22.32	36.18	2 — —	2 — —	724-726	241-243
51	Kuñcanāga . . .	22.33	36 19	1 — —	1 — —	726-727	243-244
52	Sirināga I . . .	22.36	36.23	19 — —	19 — —	727-746	244-263
53	Vohārikatissa[1] . .	22.45	36.27	22 — —	22 — —	746-768	263-285
54	Abhayanāga[1] . .	22.38	36.51	22 — —	8 — —	768-776	285-293
55	Sirināga II . . .	22.46	36.54	2 — —	2 — —	776-778	293-295
56	Vijayakumāra . .	22.51	36.57	1 — —	1 — —	778-779	295-296
57	Saṃghatissa . . .	22.52	36.64	4 — —	4 — —	779-783	296-300
58	Saṃghabodhi . .	22.53	36.73	2 — —	2 — —	783-785	300-302
59	Goṭhakābhaya . .	22.60	36.98	13 — —	13 — —	785-798	302-315
60	Jeṭṭhatissa . . .	22.65	36 132	10 — —	10 — —	798-808	315-325
61	Mahāsena . . .	22.66	37.1	27 — —	27 — —	808-835	325-352
				167 — —	153 — —		
			Total sum . .	836 9 11	834 7 25		

Of course the dates set down can only be regarded as having an approximate value. For the Chronicles, mostly, give the reign of each individual king rounded off in whole years. Rājāvali and Pūjāvali reckon the sum total at 844 years, 9 months 25 days, the Nikāyasaṃgraha reckons the time up to Mahāsena's accession at 818, and thus the time up to his death at 845 years.[2]

[1] The Dīp. places Abhayanāga before Vohārikatissa. This appears to be the cause of the mistake in the figures. The same length of reign is ascribed to Vohārikatissa as to his predecessor, who is really his successor. According to Nik. saṃgr. 12[9] Vohārikatissa ascended the throne 752 years, 4 months 10 days after the Buddha's death.

[2] Rājāvali, ed. B. GUṆASEKARA, p. 42[22]; Pūjāv., ed. *idem*, p. 23[30]; Nik. S., ed. WICKREMASINGHE, p. 14[10].

From Devānampiyatissa to Mahāsena's death 609 years elapsed, according to the later sources.[1] But this only proves that the accession of the former should be dated 236 A.B. (609 + 236 = 845), but naturally nothing can be deduced from this statement to aid us in dating the Nirvāṇa itself.

I will now supplement my list with the names and dates of the immediate successors of Mahāsena :—[2]

62.	Siri-Meghavaṇṇa	27 years	352–379 A.D.
63.	Jeṭṭhatissa	9 ,,	379–388 ,,
64.	Buddhadāsa	28 ,,	388–416 ,,
65.	Upatissa	42 ,,	416–458 ,,
66.	Mahānāma	22 ,,	458–480 ,,
67–75.	Soṭṭhisena to Pīṭhiya	29 ,,	480–509 ,,
76.	Dhātusena	18 ,,	509–527 ,,
77.	Kassapa	17 ,,	527–544 ,,

For this later period we now have an interesting Indian-Ceylonese synchronism which appears to confirm the reckoning having as point of departure 483 B.C.

SYLVAIN LÉVI[3] has communicated the following passage from the account of the Chinese Wang Hiuen ts'e. The king of Cheu-tzeu (i. e. Ceylon), by name Chi-mi-kia-po-mo (i. e. Śrī-Meghavarman[4]), sent two bhikṣus to India to the monastery erected by Asoka near the sacred tree of the Buddha in Bodh Gayā. They found no lodging here and subsequently told their king. He sent an embassy to the king then ruling over India, San-meou-to-lo-kiu-to (i. e. Samudragupta), and sought permission to build on the sacred spot a monastery for Ceylonese pilgrims. Thus the synchronism of king Siri-Meghavaṇṇa, the successor of Mahāsena, with Samudragupta is confirmed. The latter, according to

[1] See *Epigr. Zeyl.* i, p. 143.

[2] Cf. Cūlav. 37. 99, 104, 178, 208, 247 (according to the numbering of the Colombo edition of 1877: Mah. 37. 49, 54, 128, 158, 197); 38. 1, 112; 39. 58. As to numbers 62, 64, 77, it is said that they died in the twenty-eighth (or twenty-ninth or eighteenth) year. So it is possible that the dates have again been made later by one year.

[3] *Journ. As.* 1900, pp. 316 foll., 401 foll.

[4] The form of this name, as given by the Chinese narrator, results from a confusion between varṇa and varman.

V. SMITH,[1] reigned from 326 to (about) 375, the former, according to our reckoning, from 483 as the year of the Nirvāṇa 352–379 A.D.

According to Chinese sources[2] another embassy came from Ceylon to China, sent by king Kia-che, i. e. Kāśyapa, in the year 527 A.D. Evidently this is a reference to Kassapa I whose reign, according to my list, did in fact begin about 527.

§ 9. The Indian Kings from Bimbisāra to Asoka.

In the table on the next page I have brought together the names of the kings from Bimbisāra, the contemporary of the Buddha, to Asoka, according to the Ceylonese, the Burmese, the Nepalese, and the Jaina tradition. On this I will first make the following observations.

The BURMESE TRADITION[3] is undoubtedly dependent on the CEYLONESE, as represented by Dīp. and Mah. Buddhaghosa[4] is also in complete agreement with the Mah. He certainly ascribes a reign of eighteen instead of eight years to Anuruddha and Muṇḍa, but the sum total of the reigns of all the kings reckoned up by him at the conclusion is only correct if we alter that eighteen to eight.

The NEPALESE list of the Aśokāvadāna[5] comes perhaps midway between the Ceylonese and the Jaina tradition. It is specially remarkable that in this too appears the name of

[1] *Early History of India*, p. 266 foll. (cf. *Ind. Ant.* 1902, p. 257). See also FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 343.

[2] SYLVAIN LÉVI, *l. l.*, p. 42? foll. Cf. now also E. R. AYRTON, *J.R.A.S.* 1911, p. 1142, on a new fact which speaks in favour of the reckoning from 483 B.C. On the other hand a difficulty presents itself with respect to the embassy of Mo-ho-nan (i.e. Mahānāma) to China in the year 428 A.D. (SYLV. LÉVI, pp. 412, 421). At the time there reigned in Ceylon not Mahānāma but his elder brother Upatissa II. The former did not ascend the throne till 458 A.D.

[3] See on this BIGANDET, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama the Buddha* (1866), pp. 347, 361–363, 371–372, 374–375.

[4] Smp. 321[3] foll. Cf. also Sum. 153[22] foll., where the kings from Bimbisāra to Nāgadāsa are enumerated.

[5] Cf. BURNOUF, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, pp. 358–359. It is noteworthy that the name of Candragupta is missing.

TABLE OF INDIAN KINGS

Dīpavaṃsa	Years	Mahāvaṃsa	Years	Burmese trad.	Years	Aśokāvadāna	Years	Jaina trad.	Years	Purāṇas	Years
Bimbisāra (3. 56 59)	52	Bimbisāra (2. 29-30)	52	Bimbisāra		Bimbisāra		Śreṇika		Śiśunāga	40
Ajātasattu [1] (3. 60-61)	32	Ajātassattu [1] (2. 31-32)	32	Ajātassattu	35	Ajātaśatru		Kūṇika		Kākavarṇa	36
Udayabhadda (5. 97)	16	Udayabhadda (4. 1)	16	Udayabhadda	15	Ujāyin or Udayibhadda		Udāyin	60	Kṣemadharman	20
— —		Anuruddha } Muṇḍa } (4. 2-3)	8	Anuruddha } Muṇḍa }	9	Muṇḍa				Kṣatraujas Bimbisāra	40 28
Nāgadāsa (11. 11)	24	Nāgadāsaka (4. 4)	24	Nāgadāsaka	4					Ajātaśatru	25
Susunāga (5. 98)	10	Susunāga (4 6)	18	Susunāga	32					Darbhaka or Darśaka or Harṣaka	25
Kālāsoka (4. 44; 5. 25, 80)	?	Kālāsoka (4 7)	28	Kālāsoka	28	Kākavarṇin Sahālin Tulakuci Mahamāṇḍala Prasenajit				Udāyin Nandivardhana Mahānandin	33 42 43
Ten Sons of Kālāsoka (5. 99)	22	Ten Sons of Kālāsoka (5. 14)	22	Bhaddasena and 8 Brothers	33						
—		Nine Nandas (5. 15)	22	Uggasenananda and 8 Brothers	21	Nanda		Nine Nandas		Mahāpadma and 8 Sons	100
Candagutta (5. 100)	24	Candagutta (5. 16-18)	24	Candagutta	24			Candragupta		Candragupta	24
Bindusāra (5. 101)	?	Bindusāra (5. 18)	28	Bindusāra	27	Bindusāra		Bindusāra		Bindusāra	25
Asoka (5. 101)	37	Asoka (20 1-6)	37	Asoka		Aśoka		Aśoka		Aśoka	36

[1] The Tibetan tradition appears to be very similar to the Ceylonese. According to it Ajātaśatru reigned thirty-two years and Dharmāśoka fifty-four years, from the first to the latter were ten generations of kings. ROCKHILL, *Life of the Buddha* (1907), p. 233.

Muṇḍa whom the Jainas do not know but who is mentioned in the Aṅguttara-Nikāya.[1] Thus the Ceylonese tradition is in this point confirmed by the Northern tradition.

The JAINA list is based on the Pariśiṣṭaparvan of Hemacandra.[2] It is, I think, generally admitted[3] that in this list Śreṇika and Kūṇika correspond to the Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu of the Pāli sources. On the other hand the names from Anuruddha–Muṇḍa downwards to the Nandas are missing. But among these names those of both Muṇḍa and Kālāsoka are well established by other testimony, as we shall see presently.

The PURĀṆIC list has the series Bimbisāra–Ajātaśatru–Udāyin (= Udayabhadda) in common with the Ceylonese. But the Purāṇas insert yet another king before the last-named, and the Ceylonese Chronicles place those three kings at the head of the whole list; the Purāṇas range the corresponding four kings in the second half of the list. Moreover, I cannot say that the Purāṇa list inspires me with much confidence. The tradition as to individual names is very unstable in the different Purāṇas. The same is the case with the dates of the individual reigns, although the totals agree fairly well.[4]

The question then arises: which list merits the most confidence, the Ceylonese, the Jaina, or that of the Purāṇas? JACOBI[5] is disposed to give the preference to the Jaina list. He adheres to the view that Kālāsoka, 'the black Asoka,' and Kākavarṇin (Kākavarṇa), 'the crow-coloured,' are one and the same person. That is certainly correct and is confirmed by the fact that Kālāsoka in the Pāli sources is named

[1] A. III. 57[23] foll. OLDENBERG has already, *Z.D.M.G.* 34 (1880), p. 752, stated this fact.

[2] Ed. JACOBI (*Bibl. Ind.*), I. 22 foll.; VI. 22 foll., 231 foll.; VIII. 1 foll., 297 foll.; IX. 14 foll.

[3] JACOBI, *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu* (*Abhandl. für die Kunde des Morgenl.* vii. 1), Introduction, p. 2. The combination Śreṇika = Bimbisāra occurs ROCKHILL, *Life of Buddha* (1907), p. 67.

[4] See MABEL DUFF, *The Chronology of India*, Table to p. 322.

[5] *The Kalpasūtra*, Introd.; also *Z. D. M. G.* 34, pp. 185–186. Cf. OLDENBERG, *Z. D. M. G.* 34, p. 750 foll.; and further, JACOBI, *Z. D. M. G.* 35, p. 667 foll.

as the successor of Susunāga and Kākavarṇa in the Purāṇas as the successor of Śiśunāga.[1] Here at least the Southern and the Northern tradition are in agreement.

JACOBI moreover believes Kākavarṇin = Kālāsoka to be identical with the Udāyin of the Jaina tradition, the Udayabhadda[2] of the Southern Buddhist sources. The ground for his belief is that it is said of both Udāyin and Kālāsoka that they removed the royal residence from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra. He believes that the Ceylonese tradition has made two kings out of one person, has inserted various new kings between them and has thus artificially filled up the gap of 100 years which, according to the Ceylonese view, had elapsed between the Nirvāṇa and the Second Council. The list of kings as finally drawn up by JACOBI is this:—

Bimbisāra (Śreṇika).
Ajātaśatru (Kūṇika).
Muṇḍa (= Darśaka, Harṣaka, &c.).
Udāyin (Kālāsoka, Kākavarṇin).
Nanda dynasty.

I confess that, in agreement with OLDENBERG,[3] I do not feel convinced by JACOBI's grounds for identifying Kālāsoka with Udāyin. The removal of the residence from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra is attributed to Udāyin by the Jainas,[4] and by the Brahmans (in the Purāṇas), to Kālāsoka in the Burmese tradition[5] which, beyond a doubt, comes from Ceylon. Hiuenthsang attributes it to king Aśoka whose lifetime he places a hundred years after the Nirvāṇa. He does in fact know only ONE Aśoka whom he names Wu-yau, or, as rendered once phonetically, 'O-shu-kia.[6] But to all appearance he combined

[1] The identification of Kālāsoka with Kākavarṇa has not been taken into account by V. A. SMITH (*J.R.A.S.* 1901, p. 839 foll.), who completely denies the existence of Kālāsoka.

[2] The name is written Udāyibhadda, Mah. 4. 1, 2 in the Sinhalese MSS. The same in D. I. 50[25] foll.

[3] *Z.D.M.G.* 34, p. 751 foll.

[4] Pariśiṣṭaparvan, VI. 33 foll., 175 foll.

[5] See RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist Suttas* (*S. B. E.* xi), Introd., p. xiii.

[6] BEAL, *Buddhist Records*, ii, p. 85 foll.; ST. JULIEN, *Mémoires*, i, p. 414 foll.

two different kings in one person. For if he attributes the founding of Pāṭaliputra to an Aśoka, this cannot possibly fit in with the historical Dharmāśoka of the third century B.C. For we know that Pāṭaliputra was already, under Candragupta, the capital of the country. Thus when Hiuen-thsang says that 'O-shu-kia[1] or Wu-yau founded the city of Pāṭaliputra he repeated a tradition which originally referred not to the Aśoka of the third century but to an earlier king, who must have lived before Candragupta.

I shall return once more to this subject. Here I will only observe that Hiuen-thsang, in any case with respect to the removal of the royal residence, is against the tradition of the Jainas and nearer to the Burmese. We can say then that the removal is attributed by the Jainas and Brahmans to Udāyin, by the Buddhists to Kālāsoka.

Is really the only solution to conclude that the two names were one and the same person? May it not be conjectured with equal or yet more probability that we have here simply a difference in the tradition among the Jainas and Brahmans on the one hand and the Buddhists on the other? Besides even in the Brahmanic tradition Kākavarṇa = Kālāsoka and Udāyin are again two different personages. Here then the same duplication must have occurred as in the Southern Buddhist tradition. It becomes therefore the more difficult to accept JACOBI's hypothesis. It seems greatly preferable to conclude that the Jaina list is defective. In this list Muṇḍa too is missing, who seems to be sufficiently established by the Aśokāvadāna and the mention in the Aṅguttara-Nikāya.

If finally the choice lies between the list of the Purāṇas and that of the Ceylonese Chronicles, which seems to be more probable and trustworthy, I do not hesitate to give the preference wholly and unreservedly to the latter.

In the Purāṇas, Nandivardhana and Mahānandin[2] must

[1] The former in BEAL, p. 90, the latter p. 85. Both names are thus used indifferently in connexion with the same event. This proves that we ought not to conclude, with OLDENBERG (*Vin. Piṭ.* i, Introd., p. xxxiii, n. 1), that the two names represent a remembrance of two different Asokas.

[2] It seems that Nandivardhana is to represent the ten sons of Kālā-

fill up some gap or other in the chronology. The reigns of these two together are put down at eighty-five years! But no deeds whatever are recorded.[1]

Again, in the Purāṇas yet another king, called Darśaka, &c., is inserted between Ajātaśatru and Udāyin. That is certainly an error. The Pāli canon indubitably asserts,[2] that Udāyibhadda was the son of Ajātasattu and probably also his successor. Otherwise the reign of the father and son would extend over eighty-three years.

Moreover that the two generations of the Nanda, namely Mahāpadma and his eight sons, together reigned for a century is a statement that does not bear the stamp of probability.

The chief difference between the Purāṇas and the Ceylonese sources lies in the place taken by Kālāsoka (Kākavarṇa) and his father. In the former they are placed at the head of the whole dynasty, in the latter they are ranged after Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu and their immediate successors. Thus, before all, the question is which of the two traditions we decide to accept and whether any reasons can be adduced for our decision.

Now we see that the tradition of Ceylon in its details always finds support from without. Its greater fullness of detail, generally speaking, as against the Jaina list finds a parallel in the Purāṇas.[3] In this respect the Southern Buddhist and Brahmanic traditions support each other.

In all forms the tradition as to the series is well established: nine Nandas—Candragupta—Bindusāra—Aśoka. The succession Bimbisāra—Ajātasattu—Udayabhadda is confirmed by the Jaina list and the Aśokāvadāna. Muṇḍa, entirely absent from the Jaina list and the Purāṇas, is named in the

śoka. At least the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (ed. STRONG, p. 98) includes a prince of this name among them. Mahānandin looks like a duplicate of Nandivardhana.

[1] Even V. A. SMITH, *Early History of India*, p. 36, has to admit that they are mere 'nominis umbrae'.

[2] In the *Sāmaññaphala-suttanta*, D. I. 50²⁵ foll. The same according to the Tibetan tradition. ROCKHILL, *Life of Buddha* (1907), p. 91.

[3] Also in Tibetan sources. See note to the Table.

Buddhistic canon and in the Aśokāvadāna. And in the same way the Aśokāvadāna puts Kākavarṇin AFTER Udāyin and Muṇḍa as the Ceylon Chronicles place their Kālāsoka, not BEFORE them as the Purāṇas place their Kākavarṇa.

Thus the greater probability seems to be in favour of placing Kākavarṇa and with him naturally his father Śiśunāga in the second half of the series of kings, not in the first.

I believe then that with respect also to the series of Indian kings before Asoka, the Ceylonese tradition is more valuable than that of the Brahmans and Jainas. The last-named is certainly defective. But as to the Purāṇas I am compelled to think that when the dynasty before Candragupta had once received the name Śaiśunāga, then in order to exalt its greatness and antiquity, the eponymos and his immediate successors, including Bimbisāra and his successors, were placed at the head of the whole series of kings. This would end in a reversal in the order of the first and second half.

At the present time greater stress is laid, and with justice, on the importance of research in Northern Buddhism.[1] It is most important for the understanding of the development of Buddhism. Still I believe that if we wish to learn the origins of Buddhism, and especially the history of those origins, we shall have to draw chiefly upon the Pāli sources.

The dates of the Indian kings according to the Southern Buddhist tradition are the following:—

(1) Bimbisāra[2]	B.B. 60—B.B. 8	B.C. 543—B.C. 491
2. Ajātasattu	„ 8—A.B. 24	„ 491— „ 459
3. Udayabhadda	A.B. 24—A.B. 40	„ 459— „ 443
4. Anuruddha 5. Muṇḍa	„ 40— „ 48	„ 443— „ 435
6. Nāgadāsaka	„ 48— „ 72	„ 435— „ 411
7. Susunāga	„ 72— „ 90	„ 411— „ 393
8. Kālāsoka	„ 90— „ 118	„ 393— „ 365
9. Ten sons of Kālāsoka	„ 118— „ 140	„ 365— „ 343
11. Nine Nandas	„ 140— „ 162	„ 343— „ 321
12. Candagutta	„ 162— „ 186	„ 321— „ 297
13. Bindusāra	„ 186— „ 214	„ 297— „ 269
14. Asoka (*a*) before and	„ 214— „ 219	„ 269— „ 264
(*b*) after the abhiseka	„ 219— „ 256	„ 264— „ 227

[1] Cf. e.g. WALLESER, *Z.D.M.G.* 1910, p. 238, in a discussion of DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN's *Bouddhisme*.

[2] As to the chronological relation between Bimbisāra and the

§ 10. The Ācariyaparamparā and Indian-Ceylonese synchronisms.

In the chronological system on which the Dīp. and Mah. are based the succession of the great teachers from Upāli down to Mahinda plays an important part. This ācariyaparamparā is of interest because in it there is a continuous synchronological connexion between the history of Ceylon and that of India. Here the system appears carried out in detail and completed.[1]

Of course the dates must not be considered altogether authentic. Besides, for the most part they fall within the most uncertain period of Indian-Ceylonese history, before the accession of Devānampiyatissa. They only show how in Ceylon the several names and events of tradition were fitted into the framework of the few well-established leading dates.

It seems doubtful too that the theras mentioned, with the exception of Upāli and Moggaliputtatissa, were Vinayapāmokkhā if indeed this should be taken to mean one having recognized authority in the Church.

Sonaka did not even take part in the Second Council which took place in his time. The leading personages in this were Revata, Sabbakāmī, Sambhūta Sāṇavāsī and Yasa. Evidently it was only a question of proving that the 'Succession of Teachers' of Mahinda could be traced back to Upāli, the great authority in the Vinaya at the time of the Buddha.

The list is as follows :—

Buddha more precise statements are furnished by Dīp. 3. 56 foll. and Mah. 2. 28 foll. According to these the two met for the first time when the Buddha was thirty-five and Bimbisāra thirty years of age, i.e. 528 B.C. This was the year 15 of Bimbisāra's reign. After that Bimbisāra reigned yet another thirty-seven years (till 491 B.C.). He was succeeded by Ajātasattu. Eight years after his accession the Buddha died.

[1] See NORMAN, *J.R.A.S.* 1908, pp. 5–6. The list of the patriarchs according to the Northern tradition is quite different. In this the succession is: (1) Kāśyapa, who presided over the First Council; (2) Ānanda; (3) Sāṇakavāsa; (4) Upagupta, the president of the Second Council; (5) Daitika or Dhītika; (6) Kāla, who was principally concerned in the conversion of Ceylon. See BEAL, 'Succession of Buddhist Patriarchs' (*Ind. Ant.* ix, 1880, p. 148 foll.).

1. UPĀLI.[1] (*a*) At the time of the Buddha's death (483 B.C.) he had completed forty-four years from his upasampadā. So we should have for this last the date 527 B.C. Buddha's death, according to tradition, coincides in time with the coming of Vijaya to Ceylon and with the 8th year of Ajātasattu. Vijaya dies in the 14th year of Udayabhadda, i.e. 446 B.C., in the 16th year of the same king, i.e. 444 B.C., Paṇḍuvāsudeva is crowned king in Ceylon.[2]

(*b*) Upāli after the Buddha's death becomes Chief of the Vinaya and remains so for thirty years. The sum total of his years, reckoned from the upasampadā, amounts to seventy-four. He dies therefore 453 B.C. after, as Dīp. 4. 38 says, Udaya had reigned six years.

2. DĀSAKA.[3] (*a*) He is ordained by Upāli, when the latter has completed sixty years of his priesthood, or sixteen years after the Buddha's death, i.e. 467 B.C. This agrees with the statement that it happened in the year 24 of Ajātasattu and in the year 16 of Vijaya. According to Mah. 5. 106 he was then twelve years old, thus the year of his birth was 479 B. C.

(*b*) Dāsaka is (after Upāli) for fifty years Chief of the Vinaya, i.e. he dies 403 B. C., or according to the Dīp., in the year 8 of Susunāga. In Ceylon meanwhile (Dīp. 11. 10) Paṇḍuvāsudeva has died in the year 21 of Nāgadāsaka, i.e. 414 B. C., and Abhaya has been crowned king.

3. SOṆAKA.[4] (*a*) He is ordained a priest by Dāsaka when the latter has completed forty-five years from his upasampadā, therefore 422 B. C. Thus according to Dīp. 4. 41. But according to Dīp. 5. 78 Dāsaka had only been forty years a priest when Soṇaka was ordained by him. This brings us to 427 B. C. Here therefore the tradition is uncertain. It also points to the year 10 of Nāgadāsa or the year 20 of Paṇḍuvāsudeva as the year of Soṇaka's ordination, i. e. 425 or 424 B.C.

[1] Dīp. 4. 34, 38; 5. 76, 95, 103.

[2] Dīp. 11. 8. The number of years of Vijaya's reign (38) brings us to 445 as the year of his death. The length of the interregnum is given Dīp. 11. 9, Mah. 8. 5, as one year.

[3] Dīp. 4. 27–28, 43; 5. 91, 95, 96, 98, 104.

[4] Dīp. 4. 41; 5. 78, 79, 92, 95, 96, 99, 105.

(*b*) Soṇaka is Chief of the Vinaya for forty-four years and a priest for sixty-six years. Since Dāsaka died 403 B.C. Soṇaka's death would fall in 359 B.C. This would bring us again to 425 as the year of ordination. The statement that Soṇaka died in the year 6 of the reign of Asoka's sons points also to 359 B.C. as the year of his death. The most probable date of Soṇaka's ordination is, however, 423 or 422 B.C., as we shall see from Siggava's chronology. According to Mah. 5. 115 Soṇaka was fifteen years old when he met Dāsaka. He was therefore born in 438 or 437 B.C. In Ceylon[1] the year 11 of the interregnum between Abhaya and Paṇḍukābhaya corresponds to the year 10 of Kālāsoka (=383 B.C.) and the year 58 of Paṇḍukābhaya to the year 2 of Candagutta (= 319 B.C.).

4. SIGGAVA.[2] (*a*) Soṇaka confers ordination on Siggava forty years after his own upasampadā. At that time Kālāsoka had reigned ten years and half a month. In Ceylon eleven and a half years of the interregnum after Abhaya had elapsed. Thus we come to the year 383 (or 382) B.C. and to the year 423 (or 422) as the year of Soṇaka's upasampadā.

(*b*) Siggava is a priest for seventy-six years and dies in the year 14 of Candagutta. This coincides with the year 307 B.C. There must be an error in the statement that he was head of the Church for fifty-five years. Since Soṇaka's death may be reckoned with all probability as occurring in the year 359, Siggava, if he died in 307, can only have held this office fifty-two years.

The year of Siggava's birth, since he was eighteen years old at the time of his meeting with Soṇaka (Mah. 5. 120), falls in the year 401 B.C.

5. (*a*) MOGGALIPUTTATISSA.[3] He is ordained by Siggava sixty-four years after the latter's upasampadā, in the year 2

[1] Dīp. 5. 69, 81; 5. 80.

[2] Dīp. 4. 44–46 (cf. with this the note in OLDENBERG'S edition); 5. 73, 95, 96, 106.

[3] Dīp. 5. 69, 81, 95, 96, 101, 107. Relics of (Moggaliputta)tissa, attested by an inscription, have been found in the Sānchi-tope no. 2. See CUNNINGHAM, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 289.

of Candagutta and 58 of Pakuṇḍaka (i.e. Paṇḍukābhaya), therefore 319 B.C.

(*b*) He is Chief of the Vinaya for sixty-eight years after Siggava and dies eighty years after ordination, twenty-six years after Asoka's abhiseka (=264 B.C.). The first two statements accord with 239 B.C., the last with 238 B.C. However, if we place the consecration of Asoka as early as the year 265, which results (see above, p. xxxii) from dating the Buddha's death on the full-moon day of Vesākha, then even according to this reckoning Moggaliputta's death should be placed at 239 B.C.

6. MAHINDA.[1] (*a*) Moggaliputta ordains Mahinda in the year 6 of Asoka, (reckoned from the abhiseka) or the year 48 of Muṭasiva. This brings us, in both cases, if we take the spring of 265 as that of Asoka's abhiseka, to the time between the spring of 259 and 258. Mahinda was born[2] 204 A.B. i.e. 279 B.C., thus he was ordained at the age of twenty.

Mahinda comes to Ceylon twelve and a half years after his ordination and eighteen years after Asoka's abhiseka,[3] as we have already seen, in the spring 246 B.C.

(*b*) He dies in the year 8 of Uttiya's reign and on the 8th day of the bright half of the month Assayuja.[4] The year of his death is therefore 199 B.C.

I. ĀCARIYAPARAMPARĀ

	Priest	Chief of Vinaya
1. Upāli . . .	44 B B.—30 A.B. = 527 B.C.—453 B.C.	from 1 A.B.
2. Dāsaka . .	30 A.B.—94 ,, = 467 ,, —403 ,,	,, 30 ,,
3. Soṇaka . .	60 ,, —124 ,, = 423 ,, —359 ,,	,, 94 ,,
4. Siggava . .	100 ,, —176 ,, = 383 ,, 307 ,,	,, 124 ,,
5. Moggaliputta	164 ,, —244 ,, = 319 ,, —239 ,,	,, 176 ,,
6. Mahinda . .	224 ,, —284 ,, = 259 ,, —199 ,,	

[1] Dīp. 5. 82. The time between the ordination of Moggaliputta and that of Mahinda is here stated to be sixty-six years. It would be correct to say sixty, as OLDENBERG has already observed.

[2] Dīp. 6. 20 foll.; 7. 21-22; Mah. 5. 209.

[3] Dīp. 12. 42; Mah. 13. 1, 5.

[4] Dīp. 17. 93, 95; Mah. 20. 32-33.

II. Ceylonese and Indian Synchronisms

Year of Ceylon King			Year of Indian King		Year of Christian Era
Vijaya	1	=	Ajātasattu	8	483 B.C.
,,	16	=	,,	24	467 ,,
,,	37	=	Udayabhadda	14	446 ,,
Paṇḍuvāsudeva	1	=	,,	16	444 ,,
,,	20	=	Nāgadāsaka	10	425/4 ,,
Abhaya	1	=	,,	21	414 ,,
Interregnum	11	=	Kālāsoka	10	383 ,,
Paṇḍukābhaya	58	=	Candagutta	2	319 ,,
Muṭasiva	1	=	,,	14	307 ,,
,,	48	=	Asoka	6	259 ,,

§ 11. The Buddhist Councils.

According to the Southern Buddhist tradition three Councils, as is known, took place, the first immediately after the death of the Buddha, the second a hundred years later under Kālāsoka, the third 236 years after the Nirvāṇa in the reign of Dhammāsoka.

There has been repeated discussion, especially in recent times, as to the authenticity or non-authenticity of the history of the Councils.[1] I am not able, within the limits of this introduction, to go into all the details. I will rather restrict myself, in the first place, to a résumé of that which is recorded in the Pāli sources as to the Councils. By way of comparison I will then indicate the most important statements of the Northern Buddhist tradition. Finally, I will endeavour to extract the historical kernel which, in my opinion, is contained in the Ceylonese tradition concerning those events.

[1] I would refer chiefly to Minayeff, *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*, p. 13 foll.; Oldenberg, 'Buddhistische Studien,' *Z.D.M.G.* 52, p. 613 foll.; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 101 foll.; V. A. Smith *J.R.A.S.* 1901, p. 842 foll.; L. de la Vallée Poussin, 'Les premiers Conciles (bouddhiques),' *Le Muséon*, N.S. 6. 1905, p. 213 foll. (cf. 'The Buddhist Councils,' *Ind. Ant.* 1908, pp. 1 foll., 81 foll.); R. O. Franke, 'The Buddhist Councils at Rājagaha and Vesālī,' *J.P.T.S.* 1908, p. 1 foll.; Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, ii. 76, 77. The Chinese accounts of the First Council have been brought together by Suzuki, 'The first Buddhist Council,' in *the Monist*, xiv. 2, 1904, p. 258 foll.

I can only incidentally, where it appears to me to be absolutely necessary, take up a position with regard to views of other inquirers, and must avoid many explanations which suggest themselves, in order not to overstep the space allotted to me.

First, with regard to the SOUTHERN BUDDHIST SOURCES for the history of the Councils, the principal, both in age and importance, are Khandhaka XI and XII of the Cullavagga in the Vinaya-Piṭaka [1] which deal with the First and Second Council.

Then follow the Dīp. and Mah. with accounts of the three Councils [2] and also the historical Introduction to Buddhaghosa's Samantapāsādikā.[3] Moreover, Buddhaghosa treats of the First Council, frequently with the same wording, in the Introduction to his Sumaṅgalavilāsinī.[4] As secondary sources we may mention the Mahābodhivaṃsa [5] and Sāsanavaṃsa,[6] and also in the Sinhalese language principally the Nikāya-Saṃgraha.[7]

The NORTHERN BUDDHIST ACCOUNTS will be mentioned in treating of the several Councils.

The First Council.

The account in C.V. is this:

Mahākassapa, travelling with his disciples from Pāvā to Kusinārā, hears of the death of the Buddha. The monks are profoundly grieved, but Subhadda comforts them with the frivolous utterance that they can now do what they will, and that they are freed from an irksome control.

Thereupon Mahākassapa proposes to undertake a saṃgīti of the Dhamma and the Vinaya, that the doctrine may thus

[1] OLDENBERG, *Vin. Piṭ.* ii, p. 284 foll. Cf. *S.B.E.* xx, p. 370 foll.

[2] GEIGER, *Dīp. and Mah.* p. 108 foll. In the Dīp. there is a double account of each Council.

[3] See OLDENBERG, *Vin. Piṭ.* iii, p. 283 foll.

[4] Ed. RHYS DAVIDS and CARPENTER, i. (*P.T.S.* 1886), p. 2 foll.

[5] Ed. STRONG (*P.T.S.* 1891), p. 85 foll.

[6] Ed. M. BODE (*P.T.S.* 1897), p. 3 foll.

[7] Ed. WICKREMASINGHE, 1890, pp. 3, 4, 8.

be kept pure. To this end 500 monks are chosen, among whom, by the wish of the assembly, is Ānanda, though he is not yet an Arahant.

The Council takes place in Rājagaha and passes off in the manner described in the Mah.

Some points are to be added from the C.V. namely:

(1) Ānanda relates that the Buddha had, in his presence, declared the community of monks empowered after his death to do away with the less important precepts,[1] if they wished. Since they are not able to agree in deciding what is to be understood by this expression, they resolve not to do away with any precept.

(2) Certain reproaches are cast upon Ānanda. Although he is not conscious of any fault he acknowledges himself guilty from respect for the Assembly.

(3) The thera Purāṇa enters Rājagaha. He is called upon to take part in the work of the Assembly. He renders due acknowledgment to this work but prefers to hold by that which he himself has heard from the Master's lips.

(4) Ānanda further relates how the Buddha, before his death, had also pronounced the monk Channa liable to the brahmadaṇḍa penance. The fulfilling of this duty is entrusted to Ānanda. Channa is deeply troubled. With zealous endeavour he attains to arahantship, upon which the penance is remitted.[2]

As regards the time at which the First Council was held, the Dīp. 1. 24; 5. 4 mentions the fourth month after the Master's death. This was the second Vassa-month, i.e. Sāvana, the fifth month of the year.[3]

This reckoning is based on the tradition according to which the Buddha died on the full-moon day of the month Vesākha.

Buddhaghosa and the Mah. agree with this statement.[4] The latter certainly mentions the bright half of Āsāḷha the

[1] Khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadāni. See Mahāparinibbāṇasutta, D. II. 154.

[2] I omit the episode of Udena, C.V. XI. 13–14.

[3] See M.V. III. 2. 2 (Oldenberg, *Vin. Piṭ.* i, p. 137).

[4] Smp. 285^32-35, 286^34; Sum. 6^10-20, 8^14-15; Mah. 3. 14–16.

fourth month of the year[1] as the beginning of the Council, but adds that the first month was spent in preparations, thus the proceeding did not begin till the month Sāvaṇa.

It is an obviously later addition which we find in the Sum., that not only the Vinaya and the Dhamma, in all their details, but also the Abhidhamma are established at the First Council.

The same is found in the later tradition.

Among the NORTHERN BUDDHIST SOURCES dealing with the First Council I mention the Mahāvastu.[2] Here, in agreement with the Southern tradition Kāśyapa is given as the originator of the Council, the number of the bhikṣus taking part in it is stated to be 500 and the place the Saptaparṇa grotto near Rājagṛha.

There is, besides, an account in the second volume of the Dulva, the Tibetan Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādin sect.[3] The fixing of the Canon took place, according to this source, in the following order: (1) Dharma, by Ānanda; (2) Vinaya, by Upāli; (3) Mātṛkā (i.e. Abhidharma) by Mahākāśyapa himself. It is worthy of remark that the Dulva puts the accusations brought against Ānanda in the time before the beginning of the proceedings, thus before his attainment of arahantship.

Fā-hian and Hiuen-thsang[4] also mention the First Council. The former gives the number of the bhikṣus as 500, the latter as 1,000; the former speaks in a general way of 'a collection of sacred books', the latter expressly mentions also the redaction of the Abhidharma by Mahākāśyapa.

The Second Council.

According to C.V. XII. the Second Council takes place 100 years after the Buddha's death, and is brought about by the dasa vatthūni[5] of the Vajji monks of Vesālī, which

[1] The full moon of Āsāḷha of the year 483 fell, according to JACOBI'S reckoning (see FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 20) on June 24.

[2] Ed. SENART, i, p. 69 foll.

[3] See ROCKHILL, *Life of the Buddha* (1907), p. 148 foll.

[4] BEAL, *Buddhist Records*, i, pp. lx–lxi; ii, pp. 162–164; LEGGE, *Records of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, p. 85.

[5] On these ten points, according to the Pāli-tradition, see below in

signified a relaxing of monastic discipline. In the further course of its narrative, too, the C.V. agrees with the Mah. and the rest of the SOUTHERN BUDDHIST SOURCES. The contrast comes out distinctly between the city-dwelling monks of Vesālī and the Arahants living in solitary retreat (āraññakā, Vin. II. 299[5]) and of strict tendencies.

Yasa's speech in presence of the Vesālian upāsakas is given in full extent. The disciple of Revata, whom the Vajji monks bring over to their side (Mah. 4. 30) is called Uttara. It is also characteristic that the orthodox monks before they undertake the refutation of the heresies first assure themselves of the consent of Sabbakāmī, the Saṃghathera at that time.[1]

The number of those taking part in the Council is given unanimously as 700.[2] The Dīp. and the Mah. set the time of the Council in the eleventh year of the reign of Kālāsoka (=383–382 B.C.), later documents put it in the tenth year.[3] The locality is generally considered to be the Vālikārāma.[4] Only the Dīp, (5. 29) mentions the Kūṭāgārasālā of the Mahāvana monastery, I do not think we need attach any importance to this discrepancy, which probably takes its rise in some misunderstanding.

Still it is of importance that the Dīp. 5. 30 foll. states, to complete the narrative, that the heretical monks held a separate Council, called Mahāsaṃgīti, and that they here

the Translation, note to 4. 9. See for further observations L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Le Muséon*, N.S. vi (1905), p. 276 foll.; *Ind. Ant.* 37 (1908), p. 88 foll.

[1] C.V. XII. 2. 4–6 = Vin. II, p. 303[19] foll.

[2] C.V. XII. 2. 9 (= Vin. II. 307[35]); Dīp. 4. 52; Mah. 4. 62; Smp. 294[7]. But when the Dīp. 5. 20 speaks of 1,200,000 who took part in the Council it does not contradict itself in this. By this naturally exaggerated number the Dīp. means those who took part in the General Assembly. Mah. 4. 60 and Smp. 294[9] give for this the same number.

[3] Dīp. 4. 44, 47; Mah. 4. 8. Cf. Mahābodhiv. 96[6]; Sāsanav. 7[1–3]; Nik. Saṃgr. 4[21].

[4] Mah. 4. 50, 63; Smp. 94[15]; Mahābodhiv. 96[20]; Sāsanav. 6[13]; Nik. Saṃgr. 6[4].

made out a different redaction of the Canonical Scriptures. With this may be compared the brief notice in Mah. 5. 3–4, according to which the heretical monks of the Second Council, under the name Mahāsaṃghika, formed a separate sect, as the first branching-off from the orthodox doctrine.

In the NORTHERN TRADITION we have accounts of the second Council in the Dulva,[1] from the Tibetan historian Tāranātha [2], from Fā-hian and Hiuen-thsang.[3]

As according to the Southern sources so according to these accounts the ten points of the Vajji monks form the starting-point of the movement.

As to the date there is great uncertainty. In the same way, with respect to the place, the tradition wavers between Vaiśālī and Pāṭaliputra.[4] Of the famous theras of the Second Council mentioned in the Southern scriptures we meet the following in the Northern:—Sarvakāma = Sabbakāmī, Yaśa = Yasa, Sāḷha = Sāḷha, Saṃbhūta = Saṃbhūta Sāṇavāsī, Revata = Revata, Kuyyasobhita (?) = Khujjasobhita and Ajita = Ajita.

The Third Council.

With respect to the Third Council we must, in the first place, depend on SOUTHERN BUDDHIST SOURCES since it has up to this time been accepted that the Northern Buddhist took no account of this Assembly of the Church. Our oldest source is the Dīp. 7. 34–43, 44–59; then comes Smp. 306[27] foll., then Mah. 5. 228 foll. Respecting the course of events we may refer to the translation following below, since no essential differences exist.

The president of the Council was Tissa Moggaliputta, the place Pāṭaliputta, also called Kusumapura 'the city of flowers'. As date, the year 236 A. B. = 247 B. C. is given, Dīp. 7. 37, 44.[5]

[1] See ROCKHILL, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 171–180.

[2] *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, übersetzt von SCHIEFNER, p. 41 foll. Cf. WASSILJEW, *Der Buddhismus*, p. 61 foll.

[3] BEAL, *l. l.*, i, p. liv; ii, pp. 74–75; LEGGE, *l. l.*, p. 75.

[4] On these wavering traditions see below.

[5] Cf. Sāsanav. i, p. 8[1, 3]; Nik. Saṃgr. 9[4]. When Dīp. 1. 24, 25 says

The Mah. 5. 280 says that the Council was concluded in the seventeenth year of the reign of Asoka. It lasted, according to both chronicles, nine months. Thus, according to FLEET'S[1] reckoning, the Council began in the middle of January 247 B.C. and came to an end at the end of October in the same year.

Now with respect to the trustworthiness of the Southern Buddhist accounts of the Councils I have arrived at the following conclusion. Here, as elsewhere, a genuine historical reminiscence underlies the tradition. This holds good of all three Councils. A general framework of facts is given with some few data deeply engraved in memory. But within this framework, even in the oldest form of the tradition, all kinds of details were introduced which correspond to the opinions and circumstances of later times. We must keep to the most general statements if we would come near the historical truth. Everything special and particular should be looked upon with a certain scepticism.

For the FIRST COUNCIL we need not hesitate to extract as the historical kernel of the tradition, the fact that, after the Buddha's death, his nearest disciples assembled in the capital of the country to establish the most important rules of the Order as, according to their recollection, the Master himself had laid them down. This may then have formed the groundwork of the later Vinaya. That the Buddhist canon was established then and there in the form in which we now have it, a form that can only be the fruit of centuries of development,[2] is naturally out of the question. We see indeed how

that the First Council took place four months after the Nirvāṇa and the Third Council 118 years later there is here a manifest error, for which the clumsiness of the author of the Dīp. is responsible. The date 118 is evidently reckoned from the Second Council, mention of which has dropped out, and it refers, as in Mah. 5. 100, not to the beginning of the Third Council, but to the birth of Moggaliputta Tissa. See Dīp. 5. 55.

[1] *J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 426.

[2] See RHYS DAVIDS, *Dialogues*, i, x-xx; *Buddhist India*, p. 161 foll.; OLDENBERG, *Vin. Piṭ.* i, p. x foll.

the tradition itself adds new details. Speaking at first only of Vinaya and Dhamma it then, in a later form, makes the Abhidhamma also take its rise in the First Council.

In *my interpretation I attach special importance to the episode of Purāṇa (see p. liii). It gives the impression of a* genuine historical reminiscence, the more so since it is just of such a nature as to diminish the authority of the theras of the First Council. There was therefore certainly no reason to invent this story. As a statement of fact, however, it has no meaning unless there had really been beforehand some proposal to establish the teachings of the Buddha.

Certainly not very much more than this can be proved to be historical in the account of the First Council. The narrator in the C.V. adheres in his narrative to the Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta (D. Sutta XVI = D. II, p. 72 foll.). This has been convincingly demonstrated by OLDENBERG[1] and in greater detail by FRANKE.[2] I should not therefore like to attach most importance, as does L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN,[3] precisely to the episode of Ānanda's failings and the punishment of Channa. They may very well have been incorporated in the account only because they exist in the Sutta D. XVI.[4] It is not even certain whether it was just the frivolous words of Subhadda that brought about the holding of the Council, here too it may be that the narrator has only followed the Sutta in making this fact a motive for the Council.

In that case OLDENBERG's[5] objection to the historical character

[1] *Vin. Piṭ.* i, p. xxvi foll. [2] *J.P.T.S.* 1908, p. 8 foll.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* 1908, pp. 15-16, 18.

[4] FRANKE, *l.l.*, p. 18, foll., observes very aptly that in C.V. XI and XII the precept of D. XVI. 6. 2 (= D. II, p. 154) concerning the use of bhante and āvuso, has been strictly retained. Here, again, the narrator's dependence, as to form, on the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta is evident. Because he found the precept in the sutta, he retains it in his account. But when FRANKE then goes so far as to argue that the accounts of the Council in C.V. were only invented to illustrate that question of etiquette, that they were therefore 'more or less readings in "good form" for bhikkhus in all events and circumstances', there are assuredly few who will follow him. I am quite unable to do so.

[5] *L. l.* Cf. also RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist Suttas* (*S.B.E.* xi), General

of the First Council disappears. He is of opinion that, since Subhadda's words are mentioned, in the Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta, there must also have been some *allusion to the Council if it really was brought about by those words. According to my view the Council—or whatever this assembly of monks in Rājagaha may be called*—is the established fact (see above). If the introduction of the narrative in the C.V. really should not be in agreement with the Sutta D. XVI, which I will only assume but without yielding the point, then the fact of the Council itself is not put aside. In that case the narrator, looking for a motive or means of introducing the Council, found it in that passage of the Sutta, a connexion which did not correspond to the reality.[1]

The SECOND and THIRD COUNCIL must be discussed together. It is historically confirmed, I think, that the first schism in the Church proceeded from Vesālī and that the dasa vatthūni of the Vajji-monks brought it about. But it is doubtful when this separation resulted, where it took place, and whether after this Second Council yet a third took place and at what time.

According to the Southern Buddhist tradition, as we saw, the Second Council was held in Vesālī itself under king Kālāsoka in the year 383/2 B.C., the third under Dhammāsoka in Pāṭaliputta in the year 247 B.C. The first led to the separation of the Mahāsaṃghikas from the Theravāda. The second led to the expulsion from the community of certain elements wrongfully intruded there.

My opinion now is that this distinction between two separate Councils is in fact correct. The Northern Buddhists have mistakenly fused the two into one as they confounded the kings Kālāsoka and Dhammāsoka one with another. But traces of the right tradition are still preserved

Introduction, p. xi foll. JACOBI, *Z.D.M.G.* 34, p. 185, is, however, not inclined to give such great weight to the *argumentum e silentio.*

[1] RHYS DAVIDS, *Dialogues*, ii. 76, 77, has discussed the value of the evidence as to the First Council, and arrived at a somewhat similar conclusion.

in the wavering uncertain statements as to the time and place of the Council.

According to the Tibetan tradition in the Dulva[1] the first schism occurred 160 years after the death of the Buddha, when king Dharmāśoka reigned in Kusumapura. But the same source (ROCKHILL, p. 186) also records an assembly which took place in Pāṭaliputra 137 years after the Nirvāṇa, under Mahāpadma and Nanda.

In Chinese sources[2] we find the same uncertainty. The Council that led to the first schism is in these placed now 100, now 116, now 160 years after the Buddha's death.

As the place of the Council Fā-hian and Hiuen-thsang[3] mention Vaiśālī. But according to the Dulva (R., p. 182) the schism arose in Kusumapura (i. e. Pāṭaliputra). Tāranātha (p. 41) speaks of the ten points taught by the heretical monks of Vaiśālī and which gave occasion for a Council that took place in Kusumapura. The Chinese sources too (see St. J., *l. l.*) mention Pāṭaliputra.

Evidently, as has been said, the failure to distinguish between the two Aśokas was the cause of the whole confusion. This is plain from the fact that with respect to this king's date we find the same contradictions in the Northern sources. Hiuen-thsang knows only one Aśoka, Dharmāśoka, the historical king of the third century B.C. But he puts him 100 years after the Nirvāṇa, that is, he gives him the period of the earlier Aśoka. For hardly any scholar will admit now, I believe, that Buddha died in the fourth century B.C.; moreover, Hiuen-thsang, as we saw (see above, p. xliv), names also Dharmāśoka as the founder of Pāṭaliputra, although we know beyond dispute that Pāṭaliputra was the capital of the country before his time. He has thus transferred to Dharmāśoka, the son of Candragupta, a tradition which related to an earlier king.

[1] According to Bhavya, in ROCKHILL, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 182.

[2] ST. JULIEN, *Journ. As.*, V. Série, t. xiv, pp. 343, 333, 336. Cf. below, Appendix B.

[3] See above, p. lvi, n. 3. Fā-hian, however, does not express himself so definitely as Hiuen-thsang.

In the Tibetan sources Aśoka is generally dated 100–160 years after the Nirvāṇa. But there is beside this an allusion which, in agreement with the Southern tradition, places him 234 years after the Buddha.[1]

Tāranātha says[2] that in the Tibetan Vinaya the date 110 A.B. is given for Aśoka, but that in the other sources the dates are 210 and 220.

Lastly, in the Chinese Tripiṭaka there are, according to TAKAKUSU four dates for Aśoka: 116 A.B., 118 A.B., 130 A.B., and 218 A.B. The last-mentioned date, however, is found apparently only in the Chinese Sudarśana-vibhāṣā Vinaya, which is a translation of Buddhaghosa's Samantapāsādikā.[3]

But there is something more. The Northern writings are very familiar with the ten points raised by the monks of Vaiśālī and the schism produced by them. But they also know of another division[4] associated with the names of the monks Mahādeva and Bhadra. These latter set up five dogmas which were also expressed in brief aphorisms and which led to a schism. In Vasumitra's account[5] the confusion is complete when he relates that somewhat more than 100 years after the Nirvāṇa, under king Aśoka in Pāṭaliputra the schism of the Mahāsaṃghikas resulted from the five dogmas, which are then described. Here then, finally, the five dogmas of Mahādeva are confounded with the ten points of the Vajji-monks.

It is perhaps not too daring to conjecture that in this division associated with the name of Mahādeva there is a reminiscence of the proceedings that brought about the Third Council. But this conjecture is now also confirmed by an acute observation of L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN. He

[1] See ROCKHILL, *l. l.*, p. 233.

[2] Transl. by Schiefner, p. 42.

[3] *A Record of the Buddhist Religion* by I-TSING, transl. by TAKAKUSU, p. 14, n. 1, p. 217.

[4] See esp. *Tāranātha*, p. 51; Bhavya in ROCKHILL, *l. l.*, p. 186; WASSILJEW, *Der Buddhismus*, i, pp. 62-63.

[5] See ROCKHILL, *l. l.*, p. 187, n. 1.

establishes the fact[1] *that the five dogmas of Mahādeva belong* to those which are combated in the Kathāvatthu. But the Kathāvatthu was composed (see Mah. 5. 278) by Moggaliputta Tissa on the occasion of the Council of Pāṭaliputta.

Thus a new link has been found between the Northern and Southern tradition of the Third Council.[2] I adhere, therefore, to the assumption that a second Council took place under Kālāsoka and a third under Dhammāsoka.

The course of events at the Second Council may, taken as a whole, be as the Southern and Northern sources relate. The '10 points' are historical, and we must also regard as historical the names of the theras concerned in refuting them.[3] Moreover, the division of the community, till then united, into two schools is, as I believe, a fact. But we must not exaggerate our notion of the harshness of this separation.

With the toleration peculiar to the Indians the different sects have always mutually recognized each other and kept up relations with each other. I may refer to the beautiful utterance attributed by Vasumitra to the Buddha concerning the

[1] Buddhist notes. The five Points of Mahādeva and the Kathāvatthu, *J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 413 foll.

[2] V. A. SMITH, *J.R.A.S.* 1901, p. 827 foll. and particularly p. 839 foll., argues thus: As there are two different traditions concerning the time of the Second Council the Southern tradition has invented a second Aśoka in addition to the historical one, and out of one Council has made two. It will be seen that my argument follows the exactly opposite course: as there were two Aśokas the Northern tradition has confounded the two Councils which took place in their time. SMITH'S argument has the defect of not explaining how the different tradition regarding the Second Council arose.

[3] That an extraordinarily great age is attributed of certain theras need hardly be brought forward as testimony against the general trustworthiness of the account (KERN, *Manual*, p. 105). These are the embellishments by which it was intended to exalt the authority of the theras. In like manner an age of 150 years is attributed to the first Patriarch of the Dhyāna Sect in China, Bodhidharma. (SUZUKI, *J.P.T.S.* 1906-7, pp. 11, 13.) Besides, the Yasa of the Second Council was certainly not the Yasa who in M.V. I. 7 foll. appears as a contemporary of the Buddha. He is distinguished from this latter by the epithet *Kākaṇḍakatrajo*.

twelve future schools: 'These schools will be the repositories of the diversified fruits of my scriptures without priority or inferiority—just as the taste of sea-water is everywhere the same—or as the twelve sons of one man all honest and true, so will be the exposition of my doctrine advocated by these schools.' [1]

We may conjecture that the Second Council contributed to the completion of the Vinaya and the Dhamma, though C.V. XII does not expressly speak of it. That may have been taken as a matter of course. Besides, in the concluding words (C.V. XII. 2. 9) the second Council, like the first, is designated Vinayasaṃgīti.

At the time of the Third Council the canonical literature of the Dhamma and Vinaya, as we now have it in the Pāli recension, was evidently completed in essentials. This is proved by mention of portions of the canon in the inscription of Bairāt. Here Aśoka recommends seven scriptures for particular study. Of these scriptures six can be pointed out with more or less certainty in the Pāli canon.[2]

And now, besides, the literary movement is proceeding which leads to the compilation of the Abhidhamma. We see this from the allusion, already mentioned above, in Mah. 5. 278, according to which Moggaliputta Tissa in order to refute the errors which brought about the Third Council, composed his Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa. But this work belongs to the Abhidhamma.

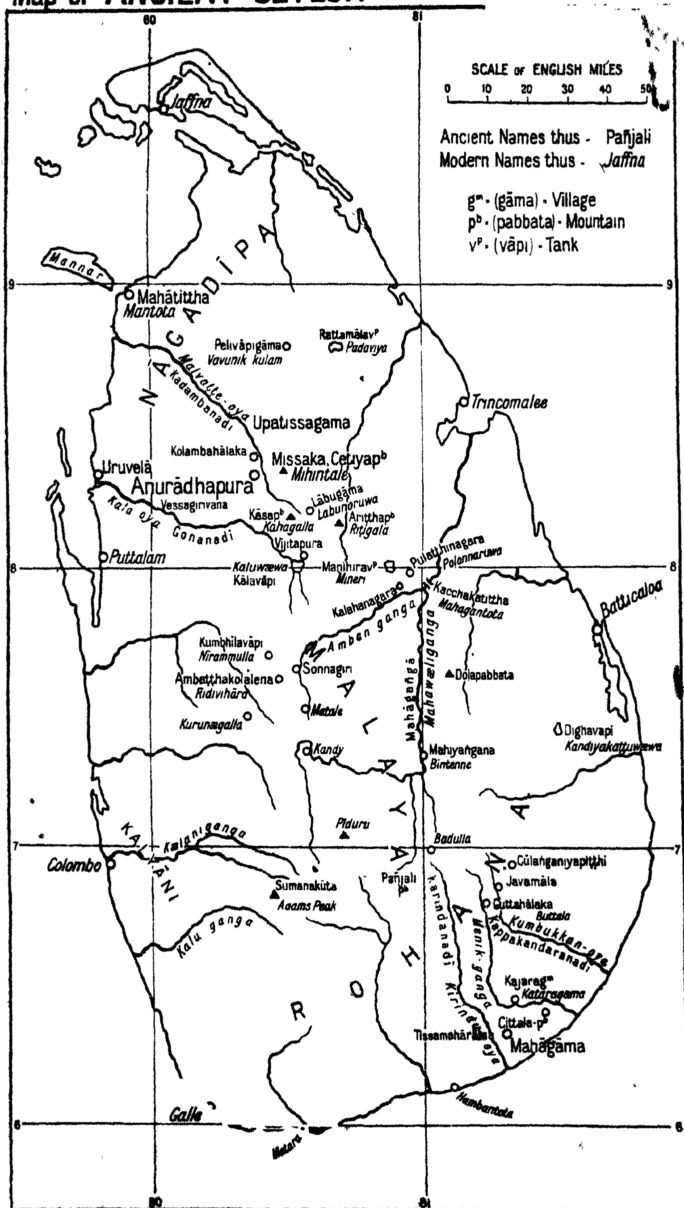
The importance of the Councils, from the standpoint of the orthodox, lay in the elimination of tendencies which could no longer be regarded as consistent with the faith. But of higher importance was the resolve formed in Pāṭaliputra to bear Buddhism beyond the borders of its narrower home. With this Buddhism entered on its victorious progress through the Eastern World.

[1] See BEAL, *Ind. Ant.* ix, 1880, p. 300.

[2] OLDENBERG, *Vin. Piṭ.* i, p. xl; *Z.D.M.G.* 52, p. 634 foll., against MINAYEFF, *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*, pp. 83–92; RHYS DAVIDS, *Dialogues*, i, p. xiii.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. = Aṅguttara-Nikāya (ed. MORRIS and HARDY, 5 vols., Pali Text Soc. 1885–1900). Vol. vi, Indexes by Miss HUNT, 1910.
Asl. = Atthasālinī (ed. E. MÜLLER, P.T.S., 1897).
B.R. = Sanskrit-Wörterbuch von BÖHTLINGK und ROTH, 7 vols., St. Petersburg, 1855–1875.
C.V. = Cullavagga (the Vinaya Piṭaka, ed. OLDENBERG, vol. ii, 1880).
D. = Dīgha-Nikāya (ed. RHYS DAVIDS and CARPENTER, 3 vols., P.T.S. 1890–1911).
Dīp. = Dīpavaṃsa (ed. and transl. OLDENBERG, 1879).
I.A. = Indian Antiquary.
J.As. = Journal Asiatique.
Jāt. = Jātaka (ed. FAUSBÖLL, 7 vols., 1877–1897).
J.P.T.S. = Journal of the Pali Text Society.
J.R.A.S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Kamb. Mah. = Kambodja Mahāvaṃsa (s. HARDY, J.P.T.S. 1902–3, p. 61 foll.).
M. = Majjhima-Nikāya (ed. TRENCKNER and CHALMERS, 3 vols., P.T.S. 1888–1899).
Mah. ed. = Mahāvaṃsa (ed. W. GEIGER, P.T.S. 1908).
M.Bv. = Mahābodhivaṃsa (ed. STRONG, P.T.S. 1901).
M.V. = Mahāvagga (The Vinaya Piṭaka, ed. OLDENBERG, vol. i, 1879).
P.D. = Dictionary of the Pāli Language, by CHILDERS, 1875.
Vin. Piṭ. = The Vinaya Piṭaka, ed. OLDENBERG, 5 vols., 1879–1883.
S. = Saṃyutta Nikāya (ed. FEER, 5 vols., P.T.S. 1884–1898; vol. 6; Indexes by Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS, 1904).
S.B.B. = Sacred Books of the Buddhists.
S.B.E. = Sacred Books of the East.
Smp. = Samanta-Pāsādikā (Introd. to S. in Vin. Piṭ. ii, p. 283 foll.).
Sum. = Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī (ed. RHYS DAVIDS and CARPENTER, vol. i, P.T.S. 1886).
Z.D.M.G. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.



Map of ANCIENT CEYLON
SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50
Ancient Names thus - Pañjali
Modern Names thus - Jaffna
gm - (gāma) - Village
pb - (pabbata) - Mountain
vp - (vāpi) - Tank
Jaffna
Mannar
NĀGADĪPA
Mahātittha
Mantota
Pelivāpigāma
Vavunik kulam
Rattamālavp
Padaviya
Malvatte-oya
Kadambanadi
Trincomalee
Upatissagama
Kolambahālaka
Missaka, Cetiyapb
Mihintale
Uruvelā
Anurādhapura
Vessagirivana
Kala oya
Gonanadi
Kāsapb
Kahagalla
Lābugāma
Labunoruwa
Aritthapb
Ritigala
Vijitapura
Puttalam
Kaluwæwa
Kālavāpi
Maṇihiravp
Mineri
Pulatthinagara
Polonnaruwa
Kalahanagara
Kacchakatittha
Mahagantota
Batticaloa
Amban ganga
Kumbhilavāpi
Nirammulla
Sonnagiri
Ambatthakolalena
Ridivihāra
Kurunægalla
Matale
Mahāgaṅgā
Mahawæliganga
Dolapabbata
MALAYA
Dīghavāpi
Kandiyakattuwæwa
Kandy
Mahiyaṅgana
Bintenne
Piduru
Badulla
KALYĀNI
Kelaniganga
Colombo
Cūlaṅganiyapitthi
Javamāla
Sumanakūta
Adams Peak
Pañjali pb
Guttahālaka
Buttala
Kumbukkan-oya
Kappakandaranadi
Karindanadi
Menik-ganga
ROHAṆA
Kalu ganga
Kirindi oya
Kajaragm
Kataragama
Cittala-pb
Tissamahārāma
Mahāgāma
Hambantota
Galle
Matara
80
81
9
8
7
6

THE MAHĀVAṂSA

CHAPTER I

THE VISIT OF THE TATHĀGATA

HAVING made obeisance to the Sambuddha the pure, sprung 1 of a pure race, I will recite the Mahāvaṃsa, of varied content and lacking nothing. That (Mahāvaṃsa) which was compiled 2 by the ancient (sages) was here too long drawn out and there too closely knit; and contained many repetitions. Attend ye 3 now to this (Mahāvaṃsa) that is free from such faults, easy to understand and remember, arousing serene joy and emotion and handed down (to us) by tradition,—(attend ye to 4 it) while that ye call up serene joy and emotion (in you) [1] at passages that awaken serene joy and emotion.

On seeing the Sambuddha Dīpaṃkara, in olden times, our 5 Conqueror resolved to become a Buddha, that he might release the world from evil. When he had offered homage to that 6 Sambuddha and likewise to Koṇḍañña and to the sage Maṅgala, to Sumana, to the Buddha Revata and likewise to the great sage Sobhita, to the Sambuddha Anomadassi, to 7 Paduma and to the Conqueror Nārada, to the Sambuddha Padumuttara and to the Tathāgata Sumedha, and to Sujāta, 8 to Piyadassi and to the Master Atthadassi, to Dhammadassi and Siddhattha, to Tissa and the Conqueror Phussa, 9 to Vipassi and the Sambuddha Sikhi, and the Sambuddha Vessabhu, the mighty one, to the Sambuddha

[1] Read janayantā, referring the participle to the subject implied in suṇotha. The terms pasāda 'serene joy' and saṃvega 'emotion' occur also in the postscripts of the single chapters of the Mah. Pasāda signifies the feeling of blissfulness, joy and satisfaction in the doctrine of the Buddha, saṃvega the feeling of horror and recoil from the world and its misery. See also 23. 62 with note.

10 Kakusandha, and likewise to Koṇāgamana, as also to the blessed Kassapa,—having offered homage to these twenty-four Saṃbuddhas and having received from them the prophecy of 11 his (future) buddhahood he, the great hero, when he had fulfilled all perfections[1] and reached the highest enlightenment, the sublime Buddha Gotama, delivered the world from suffering.

12 At Uruvelā,[2] in the Magadha country, the great sage, sitting at the foot of the Bodhi-tree, reached the supreme enlighten-13 ment on the full-moon day of the month Vesākha.[3] Seven weeks he tarried there, mastering his senses,[4] while that he himself knew the high bliss of deliverance and let (others) 14 behold its felicity.[5] Then he went to Bārāṇasī and set rolling the wheel of the law; and while he dwelt there through the rain-months, he brought sixty (hearers) to arahantship.[6] 15 When he had sent forth these bhikkhus to preach the doctrine, and when he had converted the thirty companions of the

[1] The ten pāramī. Cf. *Jāt.* i, p. 20 foll. The idea is late and not found in the four Nikāyas. See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 177; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 66.

[2] Buddh Gayā or Bodh Gayā in Gayā district, Bengal.

[3] The second month in the ordinary Indian lunar year, answering in the time of Buddha to part of March and part of April. The names of the Indian lunar months are as follows:—

(1) Citta = February : March or March : April.
(2) Vesākha = March : April or April : May.
(3) Jeṭṭha = April : May or May : June.
(4) Āsāḷha = May : June or June : July.
(5) Sāvaṇa = June : July or July : August.
(6) Poṭṭhapāda = July : August or August : September.
(7) Assayuja = August : September or September : October.
(8) Kattika = September : October or October : November.
(9) Maggasira = October : November or November : December.
(10) Phussa = November : December or December : January.
(11) Māgha = December : January or January : February.
(12) Phagguṇa = January : February or February : March.

See Fleet, *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 6.

[4] Vasī. A play on this word and vasi 'he tarried'.

[5] With the whole passage cf. Mah. ed., p. iii.

[6] Saṭṭhiṃ arahataṃ akā. Arahataṃ as a gen. plural is dependent on the numeral. Literally: he made sixty arahants.

company of Bhadda[1] then did the Master dwell at Uruvelā 16 the winter through, for the sake of converting the thousand jaṭilas[2] led by Kassapa, making them ripe (for deliverance).

Now since a great sacrifice by Kassapa of Uruvelā was near 17 at hand, and since he saw that this latter would fain have him away,[3] he, the victorious over enemies, went to seek alms 18 among the Northern Kurus;[4] and when he had eaten his meal at evening time near the lake Anotatta,[5] the Conqueror, 19 in the ninth month of his buddhahood, at the full moon of Phussa,[6] himself set forth for the isle of Laṅkā, to win Laṅkā for the faith.[7] For Laṅkā was known to the Conqueror as 20 a place where his doctrine should (thereafter) shine in glory; and (he knew that) from Laṅkā, filled with the yakkhas, the yakkhas must (first) be driven forth.[8]

And he knew also that in the midst of Laṅkā, on the fair 21 river bank, in the delightful Mahānāga garden, three yojanas long and a yojana wide, the (customary) meeting-place for 22 the yakkhas, there was a great gathering of (all) the yakkhas dwelling in the island. To this great gathering of 23 that yakkhas went the Blessed One, and there, in the midst of that assembly, hovering in the air over their heads, at the 24 place of the (future) Mahiyaṅgaṇa-thūpa,[9] he struck terror

[1] For the conversion of the Tiṃsa Bhaddavaggiyā see M.V. I. 14.

[2] Jaṭilā, ascetics wearing the hair long and matted. See M.V. I. 15 ff.

[3] Lit. after he had known this latter's wish that he should not come.

[4] The Uttarā Kurū are a half-mythological people, dwelling in the north of India.

[5] One of the seven great lakes, situated in the Himalaya mountains.

[6] The tenth month of the lunar year. See note on 1. 12.

[7] Lit. to purify, to cleanse (visodhetuṃ). Laṅkā = Ceylon.

[8] From the ñātā (N. Si. F.) in the first line another ñātā (N. Pl. M.) must be understood with yakkhā nibbāsiyā (Part. Fut. Pass., Skr. nir-vas, Caus.) in the second line of the verse, to complete the sentence.

[9] According to tradition the Bintenne-dāgaba (TENNENT, *Ceylon*, ii, pp. 420–421), on the right bank of the Mahawæliganga, which is called mahāgaṅgā or simply gaṅgā in the Mah.

25 to their hearts by rain, storm, darkness and so forth.[1] The yakkhas, overwhelmed by fear, besought the fearless Vanquisher to release them from terrors, and the Vanquisher, 26 destroyer of fear,[2] spoke thus to the terrified yakkhas: 'I will banish this your fear and your distress, O yakkhas, give ye here 27 to me with one accord a place where I may sit down.' The yakkhas thus answered the Blessed One: 'We all, O Lord, give you even the whole of our island. Give us release from 28 our fear.' Then, when he had destroyed their terror, cold and darkness, and had spread his rug of skin[3] on the ground 29 that they bestowed on him, the Conqueror, sitting there, made the rug to spread wide, while burning flame surrounded it. Daunted by the burning heat thereof and terrified, they stood 30 around on the border. Then did the Saviour cause the pleasant Giridīpa[4] to come here near to them, and when they had settled 31 there, he made it return to its former place. Then did the Saviour fold his rug of skin; the devas assembled, and in 32 their assembly the Master preached them the doctrine. The conversion of many koṭis of living beings took place,[5] and countless were those who came unto the (three) refuges and the precepts of duty.[6]

[1] Lit. he made for them a means of terror, consisting of rain, storm, darkness and so forth.

[2] Lit. who confers fearlessness (or freedom from peril), a play on the words abhaya and bhaya. See 37. 30.

[3] Lit. piece of hide.

[4] It would be a mistake to look for a clear geographical statement. The underlying notion here expressed is simply that the yakkhas were driven back to the highlands (giri) in the interior of the island. They are still to be found in Ceylon in later times. The meaning of dīpa was formerly a wider one; a later tradition has brought it to mean 'island' in our sense. Cf. also Nāgadīpa as name of a part of Ceylon itself (1. 47 with note).

[5] The term dhammābhisamaya (see CHILDERS, *P. D.*, s. v.) means 'the attainment by an unconverted man of one of the four paths' (of sanctification). Koṭi is an indefinite great number, according to the Indian system equal to ten millions.

[6] Saraṇesu ca sīlesu ṭhita is the expression for the adherence of the laity. They take their refuge (saraṇa) in the Buddha, his doctrine and his community, and undertake to keep certain binding commandments. See notes to 1. 62.

The prince of devas, Mahāsumana of the Sumanakūṭa-mountain,[1] who had attained to the fruit of entering into the path of salvation,[2] craved of him who should be worshipped, something to worship. The Conqueror, the (giver of) good to living beings, he who had pure and blue-black locks, passing his hand over his (own) head, bestowed on him a handful of hairs. And he, receiving this in a splendid golden urn, when he had laid the hairs upon a heap of many-coloured gems, seven cubits round, piled up at the place where the Master had sat, covered them over with a thūpa of sapphire and worshipped them. 33 34 35 36

When the Sambuddha had died, the thera named Sarabhu, disciple of the thera Sāriputta, by his miraculous power received, even from the funeral pyre, the collar-bone of the Conqueror and brought it hither (to Laṅkā), and, with the bhikkhus all around him, he there laid it in that same cetiya, covered it over with golden-coloured stones,[3] and (then he), the worker of miracles, having made the thūpa twelve cubits[4] high, departed again from thence. The son of king Devānampiyatissa's brother, named Uddhacūḷābhaya, saw the wondrous cetiya and (again) covered it over and made it thirty cubits high. The king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, dwelling there while he made war upon the Damiḷas, built a mantle cetiya over it eighty cubits high. Thus was the Mahiyaṅgaṇa-thūpa completed. When he had thus made our island a fit dwelling-place for men, the mighty ruler, valiant as are great heroes, departed for Uruvelā. 37 38 39 40 41 42 43

Here ends the Visit to Mahiyaṅgaṇa.

Now the most compassionate Teacher, the Conqueror, rejoicing in the salvation of the whole world, when dwelling 44

[1] Sumanakūṭa is the Adam's Peak.

[2] Sotāpatti is the stage of a sotāpanna 'who has entered the stream', who has attained to the first grade of sanctification, a converted man. As to the second and third grade see the notes to 15. 18 and 13. 17.

[3] On medavaṇṇapāsāṇā, stones of the (golden, or cream) colour of fat, fat-coloured, see Mah. ed., p. 355.

[4] See note to 15. 167.

45 at Jetavana[1] in the fifth year of his buddhahood, saw that a war, caused by a gem-set throne, was like to come to pass
46 between the nāgas Mahodara and Cūlodara, uncle and nephew, and their followers; and he, the Sambuddha, on the uposatha-
47 day of the dark half of the month Citta, in the early morning, took his sacred alms-bowl and his robes, and, from compassion for the nāgas, sought the Nāgadīpa.[2]

48 That same nāga Mahodara was then a king, gifted with miraculous power, in a nāga-kingdom in the ocean, that
49 covered half a thousand yojanas. His younger sister had been given (in marriage) to the nāga-king on the Kaṇṇāvaḍḍhamāna-
50 mountain; her son was Cūlodara. His mother's father had given to his mother a splendid throne of jewels, then the nāga
51 had died and therefore this war of nephew with uncle was threatening; and also the nāgas of the mountains were armed with miraculous power.

52 The deva named Samiddhisumana took a rājāyatana-tree
53 standing in Jetavana, his own fair habitation, and, holding it like a parasol over the Conqueror, he, with the Teacher's leave,
54 attended him to that spot where he had formerly dwelt.[3] That very deva had been, in his latest birth, a man in Nāgadīpa. On the spot where thereafter the rājāyatana-tree stood, he
55 saw paccekabuddhas taking their meal. And at the sight his heart was glad and he offered branches to cleanse the alms-
56 bowl. Therefore he was reborn in that tree in the pleasant Jetavana-garden, and it (the tree) stood afterwards outside at
57 the side of the gate-rampart.[4] The God of all gods saw (in this) an advantage for that deva, and, for the sake of the good which should spring (therefrom) for our land, he brought him hither (to Laṅkā) together with his tree.

58 Hovering there in mid-air above the battlefield the Master,

[1] A park and monastery near Sāvatthī in the Kosala country (see VOGEL, *J.R.A.S.* 1908, p. 971 foll.), presented to the Master by Anāthapiṇḍika. *Jāt.* i. 92 foll.

[2] Apparently the north-western part of Ceylon. See 20. 25, with the note.

[3] I. e. to Nāgadīpa.

[4] Koṭṭhaka 'battlemented dwelling or gateway'. See M.V. VIII. 15. 5; C.V. IV. 4. 6; *S.B.E.* xvii, p. 219, n. 1; xx, p. 11, n. 1.

who drives away (spiritual) darkness, called forth dread darkness over the nāgas. Then comforting those who were distressed 59 by terror he once again spread light abroad. When they saw the Blessed One they joyfully did reverence to the Master's feet. Then preached the Vanquisher to them the 60 doctrine that begets concord, and both [nāgas] gladly gave up the throne to the Sage.[1] When the Master, having 61 alighted on the earth, had taken his place on a seat there, and had been refreshed with celestial food and drink by the nāga-kings, he, the Lord, established in the (three) refuges[2] 62 and in the moral precepts[3] eighty koṭis of snake-spirits, dwellers in the ocean and on the mainland.

The nāga-king Maṇiakkhika of Kalyāṇī,[4] mother's brother 63 to the nāga Mahodara, who had come thither to take part in the battle, and who, aforetime, at the Buddha's first coming, 64 having heard the true doctrine preached, had become established in the refuges and in the moral duties, prayed now to the Tathāgata: 'Great is the compassion that thou hast 65 shown us here, O Master! Hadst thou not appeared we had all been consumed to ashes. May thy compassion yet light also 66 especially on me, O thou who art rich in loving-kindness, in that thou shalt come yet again hither to my dwelling-country, O thou peerless one.' When the Lord had consented by his 67 silence to come thither, he planted the rājāyatana-tree on that very spot as a sacred memorial, and the Lord of the Worlds 68 gave over the rājāyatana-tree and the precious throne-seat to the nāga-kings to do homage thereto. 'In remembrance that 69 I have used these do homage to them,[5] ye nāga-kings!

[1] I. e. the Buddha.

[2] I. e. buddha, dhamma, saṃgha 'the Buddha, his doctrine and his community'. The Buddhist confession of faith consists in the words buddhaṃ saraṇam gacchāmi, dhammaṃ s. g., saṃghaṃ s.g. 'I take my refuge in the B. &c.'

[3] The pañca sīlāni, which are binding on all Buddhists, are abstention from destruction of life, theft, adultery, lying, and from the use of intoxicating liquors. Cf. note to 18. 10.

[4] Now Kælani, name of a river which falls into the sea near Colombo.

[5] Lit. 'Do homage to them as to a memorial consisting in objects used by me.'

This, well beloved, will bring to pass blessing and happiness
70 for you.' When the Blessed One had uttered this and other exhortation to the nāgas, he, the compassionate saviour of all the world, returned to Jetavana.

Here ends the Visit to Nāgadīpa.

71 In the third year after this, the nāga-king Maṇiakkhika sought out the Sambuddha and invited him, together with the
72 brotherhood. In the eighth year after he had attained to buddhahood, when the Vanquisher was dwelling in Jetavana,
73 the Master, set forth surrounded by five hundred bhikkhus, on the second day of the beautiful month of Vesākha, at the full-moon, and when the hour of the meal was announced the
74 Vanquisher, prince of the wise, forthwith putting on his robe and taking his alms-bowl went to the Kalyāṇī country, the
75 habitation of Maṇiakkhika. Under a canopy decked with gems, raised upon the spot where (afterwards) the Kalyāṇī-cetiya was built, he took his place, together with the brother-
76 hood of bhikkhus, upon a precious throne-seat. And, greatly rejoicing, the nāga-king with his following served celestial food, both hard and soft, to the king of truth, the Conqueror, with his followers.

77 When the Teacher, compassionate to the whole world, had preached the doctrine there, he rose, the Master, and left the
78 traces of his footsteps plain to sight on Sumanakūṭa. And after he had spent the day as it pleased him at the foot of this mountain, with the brotherhood, he set forth for Dīghavāpi.[1]
79 And there the Master seated himself with the brotherhood at the place where the cetiya (thereafter) stood, and gave himself
80 up to meditation, to consecrate the spot. Then arose the Great Sage from that place, and knowing well which places were fit and which unfit he went to the place of the (later) Mahāmegha-
81 vanārāma.[2] After he had seated himself with his disciples at

[1] The Dīghavāpi is probably the Kandiya-kaṭṭu tank in the Eastern Province, about 30 miles SSW. from Batticaloa. A large dāgaba is said to be in the neighbourhood of the tank. PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 318, 396.

[2] The Mahāmeghavana was a park south of the capital Anurādha-

the place, where the sacred Bodhi-tree came afterwards to be, the Master gave himself up to meditation; and likewise there where the Great Thūpa[1] stood (in later days) and there also 82 where (afterwards) the thūpa in the Thūpārāma[2] stood. Then when he rose up from meditation he went to the place of the (later) Silācetiya,[3] and after the Leader of the assembly (of 83 bhikkhus) had uttered exhortation to the assembly of devas, he, the Enlightened, who has trodden all the paths of enlightenment, returned thence to Jetavana.

Thus the Master of boundless wisdom, looking to the 84 salvation of Laṅkā in time to come, and knowing in that time the highest good for the hosts of asuras and nāgas and so forth in Laṅkā, visited this fair island three times,—he, the compassionate Enlightener of the world;—therefore this isle, radiant with the light of truth, came to high honour among faithful believers.

Here ends the Visit to Kalyāṇī.

Here ends the first chapter, called 'The Visit of the Tathāgata', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

pura and was presented to the priesthood as an ārāma or monastery by the king Devānampiyatissa. See 15. 8 foll. and note to 11. 2.

[1] The Ruwanwæli-dāgaba of Anurādhapura. SMITHER, *Architectural Remains, Anurádhapura*, p. 23 foll.; PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 279 foll.

[2] A monastery in Anurādhapura. SMITHER, *l. c.*, p. 1 foll.; PARKER, *l. c.*, p. 263 foll. Cf. note to 17. 30.

[3] I.e. 'Stone-cetiya,' now Selacaitya in Anurādhapura. SMITHER, *l. c.*, p. 55; PARKER, *l. c.*, p. 297 foll.

CHAPTER II

THE RACE OF MAHĀSAMMATA

1 SPRUNG of the race of king Mahāsammata was the Great Sage. For in the beginning of this age of the world there 2 was a king named Mahāsammata, and (the kings) Roja and Vararoja, and the two Kalyāṇakas,[1] Uposatha and Mandhātar 3 and the two, Caraka and Upacara, and Cetiya and Mucala and he who bore the name Mahāmucala, Mucalinda and Sāgara 4 and he who bore the name Sāgaradeva; Bharata and Aṅgīrasa and Ruci and also Suruci, Patāpa and Mahāpatāpa 5 and the two Panādas likewise, Sudassana and Neru, two 6 and two;[2] also Accimā. His sons and grandsons, these twenty-eight princes whose lifetime was immeasurably (long), 7 dwelt in Kusāvatī, Rājagaha, and Mithilā.[3] Then followed a hundred kings,[4] and (then) fifty-six, and (then) sixty,

[1] I. e. Kalyāṇa and Varakalyāṇa. Dīp. 3. 6.

[2] Panāda and Mahāpanāda, Sudassana and Mahāsudassana, Neru and Mahāneru.

[3] Kusāvatī is the later Kusinārā. See note on 3. 2. Rājagaha, now Rājgir, was the capital of Magadha, and Mithilā, situated in the Bengal district Tirhut, that of Videha.

[4] The dynasties from Accimā to Kalārajanaka are dealt with in detail in Dīp. 3. 14-37. Besides (i) the number of the princes sprung of each dynasty, the (ii) capital cities of each period, and (iii) the last king of each line are mentioned. The numbers and names are these:

100	at Pakula (?)	the last being		Arimdana.
56	,, Ayujjha	,,	,,	Duppasaha.
60	,, Bārāṇasī	,,	,,	Ajitajana.
84,000	,, Kapilanagara	,,	,,	Brahmadatta.
36	,, Hatthipura	,,	,,	Kambalavasabha.
32	,, Ekacakkhu	,,	,,	Purindadadeva.
28	,, Vajirā	,,	,,	Sādhina.
22	,, Madhurā	,,	,,	Dhammagutta.

eighty-four thousand, and then further thirty-six, thirty-two, 8
twenty-eight, then further twenty-eight, eighteen, seventeen,
fifteen, fourteen; nine, seven, twelve, then further twenty- 9
five; and (again) twenty-five, twelve and (again) twelve, and
yet again nine and eighty-four thousand with Makhādeva 10
coming at the head, and (once more) eighty-four thousand
with Kalārajanaka at the head; and sixteen even unto 11
Okkāka; these descendants (of Mahāsammata) reigned in
groups in their due order, each one in his capital.

The prince Okkāmukha was Okkāka's eldest son; Nipuṇa, 12
Candimā, Candamukha and Sivisaṃjaya, the great king 13
Vessantara, Jāli, and Sīhavāhana and Sīhassara: these were
his sons and grandsons. Eighty-two thousand in number were 14
the royal sons and grandsons of king Sīhassara; Jayasena
was the last of them. They are known as the Sakya kings 15
of Kapilavatthu.[1] The great king Sīhahanu was Jayasena's

18	at Ariṭṭhapura	the last being	Siṭṭhi.
17	„ Indapatta	„ „	Brahmadeva.
15	„ Ekacakkhu	„ „	Baladatta.
14	„ Kosambī	„ „	Bhaddadeva.
9	„ Kaṇṇagoccha	„ „	Naradeva.
7	„ Rojānanagara	„ „	Mahinda.
12	„ Campā	„ „	Nāgadeva.
25	„ Mithilā	„ „	Buddhadatta.
25	„ Rājagaha	„ „	Dīpaṃkara.
12	„ Takkasilā	„ „	Tālissara.
12	„ Kusinārā	„ „	Purinda.
9	„ Malitthiya	„ „	Sāgaradeva.

The son of Sāgaradeva was Makhādeva; the dynasty of Makhādeva (84,000) reigned in Mithilā. The last prince was Nemiya, father of Kalārajanaka. These were followed by Samaṃkura, then by Asoka; this was followed by a dynasty of 84,000 princes reigning in Bārāṇasī. The last was Vijaya. He was followed by Vijitasena, Dhammasena, Nāgasena, Samatha, Disampati, Reṇu, Kusa, Mahākusa, Navaratha, Dasaratha, Rāma, Biḷāratha, Cittadassi, Atthadassi, Sujāta, Okkāka, and so on. The same in Aṭṭhakathā, Mah. T. 81[11]–83[33]. The Kamb. Mah., v. 729–789, follows the Ṭīkā.

[1] The site of Kapilavatthu, the capital of the Sakya tribe and Gotama Buddha's birthplace, is probably the present Tilaura Kot in Nepal. See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 18 n.

16 son, and Jayasena's daughter was named Yasodharā. In
17 Devadaha there was a prince named Devadahasakka, Añjana and Kaccānā were his two children. Kaccānā was the first
18 consort of Sīhahanu, but the Sakka Añjana's queen was Yasodharā. Añjana had two daughters, Māyā and Pajāpatī,
19 and also two sons, Daṇḍapāṇi and the Sākiya Suppa-
20 buddha. But Sīhahanu had five sons and two daughters: Suddhodana, Dhotodana, Sakka-, Sukka-,[1] and Amitodana, and Amitā and Pamitā; these were the five sons and two daughters.

21 The royal consort of the Sakka Suppabuddha was Amitā;
22 she had two children: Bhaddakaccānā and Devadatta. Māyā and Pajāpatī were Suddhodana's queens, and the son of the great king Suddhodana and of Māyā was our Conqueror.

23 Of this race of Mahāsammata, thus succeeding, was born, in unbroken line, the Great Sage, he who stands at the head
24 of all men of lordly birth. The consort of the prince Siddhattha, the Bodhisatta, was Bhaddakaccānā; her son was Rāhula.

25 Bimbisāra and the prince Siddhattha were friends, and
26 friends likewise were the fathers of both. The Bodhisatta was five years older than Bimbisāra; twenty-nine years old
27 was he when he left (his father's) house. When he had striven six years and thereafter had attained to wisdom, he,
28 being thirty-five years old, visited Bimbisāra. The virtuous Bimbisāra was fifteen years old when he was anointed king
29 by his own father, and when sixteen years had gone by since his coming to the throne, the Master preached his doctrine.
30 Two and fifty years he reigned; fifteen years of his reign passed before the meeting with the Conqueror, and yet thirty-seven years (of his reign) followed in the lifetime of the Tathāgata.

31 Bimbisāra's son, the foolish Ajātasattu, reigned thirty-two
32 years after he, the traitor, had slain (his father). In the eighth year of Ajātasattu the Sage entered into nibbāṇa and thereafter did he, Ajātasattu, reign yet twenty-four years.

[1] I. e. Sakkodana and Sukkodana.

The Tathāgata, who has reached the summit of all virtue, 33 yielded himself up, albeit free, into the power of impermanence. He who shall contemplate this (same) dread-begetting impermanence shall attain unto the end of suffering.

Here ends the second chapter, called 'The Race of Mahāsammata', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST COUNCIL

1 WHEN the Conqueror the incomparable, he who has the five eyes,[1] had lived eighty-four years and had fulfilled all his
2 duties in the world, in all ways, then at Kusinārā[2] in the holy place between the two sāla-trees,[3] on the full-moon day of the month Vesākha, was the light of the world extinguished.

3 Beyond all reckoning in numbers, did bhikkhus assemble there and khattiyas and brahmans, vessas and suddas, and
4 gods likewise. Seven hundred thousand leading bhikkhus were among them, the thera Mahākassapa was at that time the saṃghatthera.

5 When he had performed all rites due to the (dead) body of the Master and the bodily relics, the great thera, desiring that
6 the doctrine of the Master might long endure, did, seven days after the Lord of the World, gifted with the ten powers,[4] had passed into nibbāṇa, bethinking him of the evil words of the
7 aged Subhadda[5] and also bethinking him that he (the Master)

[1] The five eyes possessed by the Buddha are the bodily eyes (maṃsacakkhu), the heavenly eye (dibba°) by which he sees everything that comes to pass in the universe, the eye of understanding (knowledge), the eye of omniscience, and finally the Buddha-eye by means of which he beholds the saving truth.

[2] A town of the clan of the Mallas, in the territory of the present Nepal.

[3] *Shorea Robusta.*

[4] On the dasa balāni, ten kinds of knowledge, peculiar to a Buddha, see KERN, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 62; CHILDERS, *P.D.*, s.v. balaṃ.

[5] Vuḍḍha = vuḍḍhapabbajita 'who had not become a monk till he was old'. On the speech of Subhadda, see C.V. XI. 1.1 = *Vin. Piṭ.* ii. 284. KERN, *l. l.*, pp. 101–102.

had given him his garment,[1] and had (thereby) made him equal with himself, and (bethinking him) that the Sage had commanded the establishing of the holy truth, and (lastly) that 8 the Sambuddha's consent existed to make a compilation of the holy dhamma[2] appointed to this end five hundred eminent 9 bhikkhus, who had overcome the āsavas,[3] repeaters of the ninefold doctrine and versed in all its separate parts; but there was one less (than five hundred) because of the thera Ānanda.[4] And the thera Ānanda also, again and again entreated by 10 the bhikkhus, resolved to (join with them in) that compilation of the dhamma, for it was not possible without him.

When these theras, pitiful toward the whole world, had 11 passed half a month—seven days in the funeral ceremonies and seven in homage of the relics—and had resolved thus: 12 'Spending the rainy season in Rājagaha, we will make a compilation of the dhamma, no other (monks) must be permitted to dwell there'; and when they had made their pilgrimage 13 over Jambudīpa,[5] consoling here and there the sorrowing people, they, moved with desire that the good might long 14 endure,[6] betook them in the bright half of the month Āsāḷha to Rājagaha, (the city) richly provided with the four things needful.[7]

After the theras, with Mahākassapa at the head, unwavering 15 in virtue, familiar with the thought of the Sambuddha,

[1] The Buddha gave his garment to Kassapa. On the second saraṃ depend cīvaradānaṃ 'the giving of the robe', and samatte ṭhapanaṃ 'putting on a footing of equality', and then further anuggahaṃ kataṃ and anumatiṃ satiṃ (Acc. Si. F. of Part. Pres. of atthi). Cf. Mah. ed., pp. xxx and li.

[2] Kātuṃ saddhammasaṃgītiṃ. Cf. the note on 3. 17.

[3] Khīṇāsava 'one in whom the four āsavas are extinct' is the epithet of an arahant. On āsava, see Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 92; ii. 28.

[4] A place must be kept for Ānanda.

[5] The continent of India.

[6] A play upon the word sukkapakkha, used in the sense, 'bright half of the month,' and also 'pure, holy side or party'.

[7] The four paccayā of a bhikkhu are clothing, food given as alms, a dwelling-place, and medicines.

16 had arrived at that place to spend the rainy season there, they busied themselves during the first of the rain-months with repairing all the dwellings, when they had announced this to Ajātasattu.

17 When the repair of the vihāra was finished they said to the
18 king: 'Now we will hold the council.'[1] To the question, 'What should be done?' they answered: 'A place (should be provided) for the meetings.' When the king had asked: 'Where (these were to be)?' and the place had been pointed out by them,
19 he with all speed had a splendid hall built by the side of the Vebhāra Rock by the entrance of the Sattapaṇṇi grotto, (and
20 it was) like to the assembly-hall of the gods. When it was adorned in every way he caused precious mats to be spread
21 according to the number of the bhikkhus. Placed on the south side and facing the north a lofty and noble seat was prepared
22 for the thera, and in the middle of the hall a high seat was prepared for the preacher,[2] facing the east and worthy of the blessed (Buddha) himself.

23 So the king bade them tell the theras: 'My work is finished,' and the theras addressed the thera Ānanda, the joy-bringer:
24 'To-morrow, Ānanda, the assembly (comes together); it behoves thee not to take part in it since thou art still preparing thee (for the highest state),[3] therefore strive thou, unwearied
25 in good.' Thus spurred on, the thera put forth due effort

[1] Dhammasaṃgīti is the term for assembly of the church, council. The original meaning is general recitation of the canonical texts which, indeed, takes place in an assembly of the church and in the following manner: an eminent thera recites the texts sentence by sentence and the assembly repeats them after him in chorus. In this way dhammasaṃgīti is connected with dhammasaṃgaha, by which we understand a *settling* or *redaction of the canonical texts*, which also can only be carried out in the manner stated. Comp. *J.P.T.S.* 1909, pp 31, 32.

[2] Therāsana is the seat for the president, who directs the assembly; dhammāsana the same for the monk who recites, the word uttama is to be taken literally.

[3] Still a sekha, i.e. not an arahant, who has reached the highest degree. This is preceded by seven grades of preparation; he who is still at one of these is sekha 'a learner'. See *J.P.T.S.* 1909, p. 217.

and reached the state of an arahant without being confined to any one of the four postures.[1]

On the second day of the second month of the rainy season 26 the bhikkhus met together in that splendid hall. Leaving a 27 fitting place vacant for Ānanda, the arahants seated themselves on chairs, according to their rank. The thera Ānanda, to make 28 known to them that he had reached the state of an arahant, went not with them thither. But when some asked: Where is the thera Ānanda? he took the seat prepared for him, 29 rising out of the ground or passing through the air.[2]

Together the theras chose the thera Upāli to speak for[3] the 30 vinaya, for the rest of the dhamma[4] they chose Ānanda. The great thera (Mahākassapa) laid on himself (the task) of 31 asking questions touching the vinaya and the thera Upāli (was ready) to explain it.

Sitting in the thera's chair, the former asked the latter the 32 questions touching the vinaya; and Upāli, seated in the preacher's chair, expounded (the matter). And as this best 33 master of the vinaya expounded each (clause) in turn all (the bhikkhus) knowing the custom, repeated the vinaya after him.

Then the thera (Mahākassapa) taking (the task) upon himself 34 questioned concerning the dhamma, him[5] the chief of those who had most often heard (the word), him the treasure-keeper[6] of the Great Seer (the Buddha); and the thera 35 Ānanda, taking (the task) upon himself, taking his seat in the preacher's chair, expounded the whole dhamma. And 36

[1] Lit. free from the iriyāpatha; the four postures of an ascetic are understood here. They are described as: standing, sitting, walking, lying down. Ānanda became an arahant at the moment when he was on the point of lying down.

[2] Lit. 'the path of the light.' Ānanda shows that he can use the miraculous powers particular to an arahant.

[3] Lit. 'as burden bearer for.' Cf. B.R., *Skt. Wtb.*, s.v. dhuraṃdhara (4).

[4] The vinaya contains the rules of monastic discipline, the dhamma the dogmatic teaching.

[5] I. e. Ānanda.

[6] Kosārakkha, according to the Ṭīkā = dhammabhaṇḍāgārika, i. e. treasurer of the truth or the true doctrine.

all the (theras) knowing all that was contained in the doctrine repeated the dhamma in turn after the sage of the Videha country.

37 Thus in seven months was that compiling of the dhamma to save the whole world completed by those (theras) bent on
38 the whole world's salvation. 'The thera Mahākassapa has made the blessed Buddha's message to endure five hundred
39 years,' rejoicing in this thought, at the end of the council,
40 the earth encircled by the ocean trembled six times and many wondrous signs were shown in the world in many ways. Now since the canon was compiled by the theras it was called the
41 Thera tradition.[1] The theras who had held the First Council and had (thereby) brought great blessing to the world, having lived their allotted span of life, entered, all, into nibbāṇa.

42 Also the theras who have overcome darkness with the light of insight, those great shining lights in the conquest of the world's darkness, have been extinguished by the dread tempest of death. Therefore will the wise man renounce the joy of life.

Here ends the third chapter, called 'The First Council', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] The oldest account of the First Council is contained in the C.V. XI (OLDENBERG, *the Vin. Piṭ.* ii, p. 284 foll.); *Vinaya Texts*, iii (*S.B.E.* xx), p. 370 foll.

CHAPTER IV

THE SECOND COUNCIL

WHEN Ajātasattu's son Udayabhaddaka[1] had slain him he, 1
the traitor, reigned sixteen years. Udayabhaddaka's son 2
Anuruddhaka slew (his father) and Anuruddha's son named
Muṇḍa did likewise. Traitors and fools, these (sons) reigned 3
over the kingdom; in the reign of these two (kings) eight
years elapsed.

Muṇḍa's son Nāgadāsaka slew his father and then did the 4
evildoer reign twenty-four years.

Then were the citizens wroth, saying: 'This is a dynasty 5
of parricides,' and when they had banished the king Nāgadā-
saka they met together and (since) the minister known by the 6
name Susunāga was proved to be worthy, they anointed him
king, mindful of the good of all. He reigned as king eighteen 7
years. His son Kālāsoka reigned twenty-eight years. At the 8
end of the tenth year of Kālāsoka's reign a century had gone
by since the parinibbāṇa of the Sambuddha.

At that time in Vesālī many bhikkhus of the Vajji-clan[2] 9
did shamelessly teach that the Ten Points[3] were lawful,
namely 'Salt in the horn', 'Two fingers' breadth', 'Visiting 10

[1] In the Sinhalese MSS. this name appears in the form 'Udāyi-bhaddaka'. Cf. D. 1. 50[25] Udāyibh° or Udāyabh° (E. MÜLLER, *J.P.T.S.* 1888, p. 14). The Dīp. 4. 38, 5. 97, 11. 8 has Udaya(bhadda).

[2] On the confederacy of the Vajjis see RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, pp. 25–26. On Vesālī, *ibid.*, p. 40. According to V. SMITH (*Early History of India*, p. 27, n. 1; *J.R.A.S.* 1902, p. 267 foll.) its site is the modern Basāṛ (N. lat. 25° 58′ 20″, E. long. 85° 11′ 30″) in the District Muzaffarpur, north of Patna.

[3] The history of the Second Council is also given in the C.V. XII. Cf. *Vinaya Texts*, iii (*S.B.E.* xx), pp. 386 foll. Here C.V. XII. 1. 9; 2. 8) the single points are explained:

(i) Siṅgiloṇakappa, the custom of putting salt in a horn vessel, in order to season unsalted foods, when received.

(ii) Dvaṅgulakappa, the custom of taking the midday meal,

the village', 'Dwelling', 'Consent', 'Example', 'Unchurned
11 milk', 'Unfermented palm-wine', 'Seat without fringe',
'Gold and so forth'.

When this came to the ears of the thera Yasa, the son of
12 the brahman Kākaṇḍaka, gifted with the six supernormal
powers,[1] who was wandering about in the Vajji country, he
betook himself to the Mahāvana (vihāra)[2] with the resolve to
13 settle the matter. In the uposatha-hall those (monks) had
placed a vessel made of metal and filled with water and had
said to the lay-folk: 'Bestow on the brotherhood kahāpaṇas[3]
14 and so on.' The thera forbade them with the words 'This is
unlawful; give nothing!' Then did they threaten the thera

even after the prescribed time, as long as the sun's shadow had not passed the meridian by more than two-fingers' breadth.

(iii) Gāmantarakappa, the custom of going into the village, after the meal, and there eating again, if invited.

(iv) Āvāsakappa, the custom of holding the uposatha-feast separately by bhikkhus dwelling in the same district.

(v) Anumatikappa, the carrying out of official acts by an incomplete chapter, on the supposition that the consent of absent bhikkhus was obtained afterwards.

(vi) Āciṇṇakappa, the custom of doing something because of the preceptor's practice.

(vii) Āmathitakappa, taking unchurned milk, even after the mealtime.

(viii) Jalogikappa, drinking unfermented palm-wine.

(ix) Adasakaṃ nisīdanaṃ, the use of mats to sit on which were not of the prescribed size, if they were without fringe.

(x) Jātarūparajataṃ, accepting gold and silver.

[1] Chaḷabhiññā. The six abhiññā are (i) the power of iddhi, (ii) the heavenly ear, i. e. supranormal power of hearing, (iii) the power to read the thoughts of others, (iv) the knowledge of former existences, (v) the heavenly eye, i. e. supranormal power of seeing, (vi) the abandonment of the āsavas. The last of these abhiññā is one of the signs of an arahant. See RHYS DAVIDS, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 62; AUNG, *Compendium of Philosophy*, pp. 60–63; 224 foll.

[2] The Mahāvana-monastery is mentioned by Fā-Hian. See BEAL, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, i, p. 52.

[3] Kahāpaṇa (Skr. kārṣāpaṇa) is a square copper coin, weighing 146·4 grains = 9·48 grams. See RAPSON, *Indian Coins*, p. 2; RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, p. 100.

Yasa with the penance called the Craving of pardon from lay-folk.[1] He asked for one to bear him company and went 15 with him into the city proclaiming to the citizens, that his teaching was according to the dhamma.

When the bhikkhus heard what (Yasa's) companion had to 16 tell, they came to thrust him out and surrounded the thera's house. The thera left it, rising up and passing through the 17 air, and halting at Kosambī, he forthwith sent messengers to the bhikkhus of Pāvā and Avanti;[2] he himself went to the 18 Ahogaṅga-mountain and related all to the thera Saṃbhūta Sāṇavāsi.[3]

Sixty great theras from Pāvā and eighty from Avanti, all 19 free from the āsavas,[4] came together on the Ahogaṅga. The bhikkhus who met together here from this and that region 20 were in all ninety thousand. When they had all conferred together they, knowing that the deeply learned thera Revata 21 of Soreyya[5] who was free from the āsavas, was the chief among them at that time, went thence to seek him out.

When the thera heard this resolution (by his divine ear) he 22 set out at once, wishing to travel easily,[6] upon the way to Vesālī. Arriving day by day in the evening at the spot 23 whence the sage had departed in the morning (the theras) met him (at last) at Sahajāti.

There the thera Yasa, as the thera Saṃbhūta had 24 charged him to do, at the end of the recital of the sacred word, addressing himself to the great thera Revata, questioned him on the Ten Points. The thera rejected them, and 25

[1] Paṭisāraṇiyakamma, see KERN, *Manual*, p. 87, note 8.

[2] Kosambī on the Yamunā was the capital of the Vatsas or Vaṃsas, Pāvā that of the Mallas; Avanti was the region of Ujjenī; RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, pp. 36, 26, 28. Instead of Pāveyyakā some of the Sinhalese MSS. read Pāṭheyyakā. But also at M.V. VII. 1. 1 (= *Vin. Piṭ.* i. 253[5]) the Burmese MSS. have Pāveyyakā.

[3] See *Vin. Texts*, iii (*S.B.E.* xx), p. 394, note 2.

[4] Anāsava, see p. 15, n. 3.

[5] Not far from Takkasilā in W. India, see Pārājika, 1. 4 (*Vin. Piṭ.* iii, p. 11); KERN, *Manual*, p. 36.

[6] Cf. for the detailed description, C.V. XII. 1. 9 = *Vin. Texts*, iii (*S.B.E.* xx), p. 396.

when he had heard the matter, he said: 'Let us make an end (of this dispute).'

26 The heretical bhikkhus, too, in order to win support, sought the thera Revata. Preparing in abundance the things needful 27 for ascetics,[1] they took ship with all speed and went to Sahajāti, bestowing food sumptuously when the mealtime came.[2]

28 The thera Sāḷha, free from the āsavas, who lived at Sahajāti, having thought on the matter, perceived: 'Those of Pāvā 29 hold the true doctrine.' And the great god Brahmā drew near to him and said: 'Stand thou firm in the doctrine,' and he replied that he would ever stand firm in the doctrine.

30 They[3] took those needful things (that they had brought as gifts) and sought the thera Revata, but the thera did not take their part and dismissed (the pupil) who took their part.[4] 31 They went thence to Vesālī, shameless they went from there 32 to Pupphapura,[5] and told king Kālāsoka: 'Guarding our Master's perfumed chamber we dwell in the Mahāvana-vihāra 33 in the Vajji territory; but bhikkhus dwelling in the country are coming, great king, with the thought: We will take the vihāra for ourselves. Forbid them!'

34 When they had thus misled the king they went (back) to Vesālī. Here in Sahajāti eleven hundred and ninety thou- 35 sand bhikkhus were come together under the thera Revata, 36 to bring the dispute to a peaceful end. And the thera would not end the dispute save in the presence of those with whom

[1] Sāmaṇaka parikkhāra (as a gift to Revata) is that which a monk is allowed to call his own, such as robes, the alms-bowl, &c. Cf. CHILDERS, s. v. parikkhāro.

[2] The underlying meaning is that they indulged in riotous living on their journey. Vissagga has the implied sense of something rich and luxuriant. The Ṭīkā paraphrases bhattavissaggaṃ with bhattaparivesanaṃ, bhattaparibhogaṃ.

[3] I. e. the Vajjian monks.

[4] On this passage see Mah. ed., pp. xxv–xxvi. However, I now prefer the reading pakkhagāhiṃ, since the passage evidently refers to Revata's disciple Uttara (C.V. XII. 2. 3), who allowed himself to be won over by the Vajjian monks.

[5] Pupphapura, the City of Flowers, a name of Pāṭaliputta (now Patna), capital at that time of the kingdom of Magadha.

it had begun;[1] therefore all the bhikkhus went thence to Vesālī.

The misguided king likewise sent his ministers thither, but 37 led astray by the design of the devas they went elsewhere. And the monarch, when he had sent them, saw himself 38 in a dream, that night, hurled into the hell called Lohakumbhī. The king was sorely terrified and, to calm his fears, 39 his sister, Nandā, the therī free from the āsavas, came to him, passing through the air.

'An ill deed is this that thou hast done! Reconcile thee 40 with these venerable bhikkhus, the true believers. Placing thyself on their side, protect thou their faith. If thou dost 41 so, blessed art thou!' she said, and thereon vanished. And forthwith in the morning the king set out to go to Vesālī. He went to the Mahāvana (monastery), assembled the con- 42 gregation of the bhikkhus there, and when he had heard what was said by both of the (opposing) sides, and had decided, himself, for the true faith, when moreover this prince was 43 reconciled with all the rightly believing bhikkhus and had declared that he was for the right belief, he said: 'Do what 44 ye think well to further the doctrine,' and when he had promised to be their protector, he returned to his capital.

Thereafter the brotherhood came together to decide upon 45 those points; then, in the congregation (of monks), aimless[2] words were spent. Then the thera Revata, who went into the 46 midst of the brotherhood, resolved to settle the matter by means of an ubbāhikā.[3] He appointed four bhikkhus from 47 the East, and four from Pāvā, for the ubbāhikā to set the dispute to rest. Sabbakāmi and Sāḷha, one named Khujjaso- 48 bhita, and Vāsabhagāmika, these were the theras from the

[1] Mūlaṭṭhehi vinā, lit. 'without those who were at the root.'

[2] Anaggāni bhassāni 'aimless' or 'inexact' speeches. The reading anaggāni bhassāni (Ed. Col. nantāni bh°) is confirmed by C.V. IV. 14. 19 and XII. 2. 7.

[3] Ubbāhikāya 'by means of a *Referat*', the settlement of a dispute being laid in the hands of certain chosen brethren. For the rule on this, see C.V. IV. 14, 19 ff.; *Vin. Texts*, iii (*S.B.E.* xx), p. 49 ff.

49 East; Revata, Sāṇasambhūta, Yasa, the son of Kākaṇḍaka, and Sumana, these were the four theras from Pāvā.

50 Now to decide on those points the eight theras who were free from the āsavas betook them to the quiet and solitary 51 Vālikārāma. There, in the beautiful spot prepared for them by the young Ajita,[1] the great theras took up their abode, they who 52 knew the thoughts of the Greatest of Sages. And the great thera Revata, skilled in questioning, questioned the thera 53 Sabbakāmi successively on each one of those points. Questioned by him the great thera Sabbakāmi thus gave judgment: 'All 54 these points are unlawful, according to tradition.' And when, in due order, they had ended (their task) in this place, they did all again, in like manner, with question and answer, in the 55 presence of the brotherhood. And thus did the great theras refute the teaching of those ten thousand heretical bhikkhus who maintained the Ten Points.

56 Sabbakāmi was then the saṃghatthera on the earth, one hundred and twenty years did he number since his upasampadā.

57 Sabbakāmi and Sāḷha, Revata, Khujjasobhita, Yasa, the son of Kākaṇḍaka, and Saṃbhūta Sāṇavāsika, the six theras, 58 were pupils of the thera Ānanda; but Vāsabhagāmika and 59 Sumana, the two theras, were pupils of the thera Anuruddha. These eight fortunate theras had beheld the Tathāgata in 60 time past. One hundred and twelve thousand bhikkhus had come together, and of all these bhikkhus the thera Revata then was the chief.

61 At that time the thera Revata, in order to hold a council, that the true faith might long endure, chose seven hundred 62 out of all that troop of bhikkhus; (those chosen were) arahants endowed with the four special sciences, understanding of meanings and so forth,[2] knowing the tipiṭaka.

[1] The reading daharenājitenettha is confirmed by C.V. XII. 2. 7: atha kho saṃgho āyasmantaṃ pi Ajitaṃ sammanni therānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ āsanapaññāpakaṃ (*Vin. Piṭ.* ii. 305[34]).

[2] Pabhinnatthādiñāṇānaṃ is explained in the Ṭīkā as atthapaṭisaṃbhidādipabhedagatañāṇānaṃ; atthādippabhedagatehi paṭisaṃbhidāñāṇehi samannāgatānaṃ ti

All these (theras met) in the Vālikārāma protected by Kālāsoka, under the leadership of the thera Revata, (and) compiled the dhamma.[1] Since they accepted the dhamma already established in time past and proclaimed afterward, they completed their work in eight months. 63 64

When these theras of high renown had held the Second Council, they, since in them all evil had perished, attained in course of time unto nibbāṇa. 65

When we bethink us of the death of the sons of the Universal Teacher, who were gifted with perfect insight, who had attained all that is to attain, who had conferred blessings on (the beings of) the three forms of existence,[2] then may we lay to heart the entire vanity of all that comes into being[3] and vigilantly strive (after deliverance). 66

Here ends the fourth chapter, called 'The Second Council', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

attho; ādiggahaṇenettha dhammapaṭisaṃbhidādīni ñāṇāni gahitāni. The compound means therefore literally, 'who possess the specialized knowledge of the attha and so forth,' that is, the four paṭisaṃbhidā. By this term is understood 'a transcendent faculty in grasping the meaning of a text or subject (attha); in grasping the Law of all things as taught by the Buddha (dhamma); in exegesis (nirutti); readiness in expounding and discussion (paṭibhāna)'. See Paṭisambhidā-magga 1. 88.

[1] Akaruṃ dhammasaṃgahaṃ. See note to 3. 17.

[2] The three forms of existence are kāmabhava, rūpabhava, arūpabhava 'sensual existence, corporeal existence, formless existence' (CHILDERS, *P.D.* s. vv.), that is, existences in the three worlds so named, which together form that part of the universe called the sattaloka, 'world of beings.' In this the kāmaloka includes the eleven lowest worlds, the rūpaloka the sixteen higher, and the arūpaloka the four highest, celestial worlds.

[3] Saṃkhatāsārakattaṃ: saṃkhata is a synonym of saṃkhārā, and means in the widest sense the material and transitory world. See CHILDERS, s. v. saṃkhāro.

CHAPTER V

THE THIRD COUNCIL

1 THAT redaction of the true dhamma, which was arranged at the beginning by the great theras Mahākassapa and others, 2 is called that of the theras. One and united was the school of the theras in the first hundred years. But afterwards 3 arose other schools of doctrine.[1] The heretical bhikkhus, subdued by the theras who had held the Second Council,[2] in 4 all ten thousand, founded the school which bears the name Mahāsaṃghika.[3]

From this arose the Gokulika and Ekavyohārika (schools). 5 From the Gokulikā arose the Paṇṇatti sect and the Bahulikā, from these the Cetiya sect. (Thus) there are six, with 6 the Mahāsaṃghikā, and yet two more (groups) parted from the followers of the Thera-doctrine: the Mahiṃsāsakā and 7 the Vajjiputtaka bhikkhus. And there parted from them likewise the Dhammuttariyā and the Bhadrayānika bhikkhus, the Chandāgārikā, the Sammitī and the Vajjiputtiya bhikkhus. 8 From the Mahiṃsāsaka bhikkhus two (groups) parted, the bhikkhus who held by the Sabbattha-school and the Dhamma-9 guttika bhikkhus. From the Sabbattha sect arose the Kassapiyā, from these arose the Saṃkantika bhikkhus, from these 10 last the Sutta sect. These are twelve together with (those of) the Thera-doctrine; thereto are added the six schools named and these together are eighteen.

11 Thus in the second century arose seventeen schools, and 12 other schools arose afterwards. The Hemavatā and the

[1] Ācariyavāda stands in contrast to theravāda. This latter is the true and orthodox church community, the other expresses collectively the various sects which arose in the course of time.

[2] Tehi saṃgītikārehi therehi dutiyehi, lit. 'by those the second council-holding theras'.

[3] I.e. the 'Great Community'.

Rājagiriyā and likewise the Siddhatthakā, the first Seliya bhikkhus, the other Seliyā, and the Vājiriyā: these six 13 separated (from the rest) in Jambudīpa, the Dhammarucī and the Sāgaliyā separated (from the rest) in the island of Laṅkā.[1]

Here ends the Story of the Ācariya-schools.

The sons of Kālāsoka were ten brothers, twenty-two years 14 did they reign. Afterwards, the nine Nandas[2] were kings in 15 succession; they too reigned twenty-two years.

Then did the brahman Cāṇakka[3] anoint a glorious youth, 16 known by the name Candagutta, as king over all Jambudīpa, 17 born of a noble clan, the Moriyas, when, filled with bitter hate, he had slain the ninth (Nanda) Dhanananda.

Twenty-four years he reigned, and his son Bindusāra reigned 18 twenty-eight. A hundred glorious sons and one had Bindusāra;[4] Asoka[5] stood high above them all in valour, splendour, 19 might, and wondrous powers. He, when he had slain his 20 ninety-nine brothers born of different mothers, won the undivided sovereignty over all Jambudīpa. Be it known, 21 that two hundred and eighteen years had passed from the nibbāna of the Master unto Asoka's consecration.

[1] The Nikāya-saṃgraha (ed. WICKREMASINGHE, pp. 11[32] and 13[9]) informs us that the Dhammarucī branched off from the Theravādins 454 years A. B., and the Sāgaliyā from the former 795 years A. B. The former event took place under Vaḷa-gam-bā (Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya, see Mah. 33. 95 ff.), and the latter under Goṭhābhaya (see Mah. 36. 110 ff.).

[2] The Mah. Ṭīkā, pp. 117–119, gives a detailed account of the Nanda dynasty; also Kamb. Mah. V. 953–994.

[3] On the Moriya dynasty and on Cāṇakka and Candagutta see Mah. Ṭīkā, pp. 119–123; Kamb. Mah. V. 995–1090. Candragupta's minister, Cāṇakya, is also known to play an important part in the Mudrārākṣasa. See SYLVAIN LÉVI, *Le Théâtre Indien*, pp. 226 ff. A work on politics, ascribed to him, the Kauṭilīyaśāstra, still exists. HILLEBRANDT, *Über das Kauṭilīyaśāstra und Verwandtes.* Cp. also *I.A.* 38, 1909, pp. 257 ff.

[4] On Bindusāra and on Candagutta's death see Mah. Ṭīkā, pp. 124, 125; Kamb. Mah. V. 1092–1128.

[5] On Asoka's birth and early youth, see Mah. Ṭīkā, pp. 125–128; Kamb. Mah. V. 1129-1198.

22 Four years after the famous (Asoka) had won for himself the undivided sovereignty he consecrated himself as king in
23 the city Pāṭaliputta. Straightway after his consecration his command spread so far as a yojana (upward) into the air and downward into the (depths of the) earth.[1]
24 Day by day did the devas bring eight men's loads of water of (the lake) Anotatta; the king dealt it out to his people.
25 From the Himalaya did the devas bring for cleansing the teeth twigs of nāga-creeper, enough for many thousands,
26 healthful fruits, myrobalan and terminalia and mango-fruits from the same place, perfect in colour, smell, and
27 taste. The spirits of the air[2] brought garments of five colours, and yellow stuff for napkins, and also celestial drink
28 from the Chaddanta-lake.[3] Out of the nāga-kingdom the nāgas (brought) stuff, coloured like the jasmine-blossom and without a seam, and celestial lotus-flowers and collyrium and
29 unguents; parrots brought daily from the Chaddanta-lake
30 ninety thousand waggon-loads of rice.[4] Mice converted this rice, unbroken, into grains without husk or powder, and
31 therewith was meal provided for the royal family. Perpetually did honey-bees prepare honey for him, and in the forges bears
32 swung the hammers. Karavīka-birds, graceful and sweet
33 of voice, came and made delightful music for the king. And being consecrated king, Asoka raised his youngest brother Tissa, son of his own mother, to the office of vice-regent.

Here ends the Consecration of the pious Asoka.

34 (Asoka's) father had shown hospitality to sixty thousand

[1] The sense of this passage, not rightly understood up to the present time, is evidently this: not only men upon the earth but also the spirits of the air and the earth heard and obeyed Asoka's command.

[2] The marū (Skt. marut) in contrast to the devā in 24.

[3] Here follow two spurious verses, 'To die (?) in this city there came gazelles, boars, birds into the kitchens and willingly perished. Leopards were used to take the herds to pasture and lead them to their stalls, gazelles and boars were used to watch over fields, plots, and ponds and so forth.'

[4] On parrots furnishing hill paddy, see *Jāt.* i, pp. 325^{1-3}, 327^{6} foll.; Morris, *J.P.T.S.* 1884, p. 107.

brahmans, versed in the Brahma-doctrine, and in like manner he himself nourished them for three years. But when he 35 saw their want of self-control at the distribution of food he commanded his ministers saying: '(Hereafter) I will give according to my choice.' The shrewd (king) bade (them) 36 bring the followers of the different schools into his presence, tested them in an assembly, and gave them to eat, and sent them thence when he had entertained them.

As he once, standing at the window, saw a peaceful ascetic, 37 the sāmaṇera Nigrodha, passing along the street, he felt kindly toward him. The youth was the son of prince 38 Sumana, the eldest brother of all the sons of Bindusāra.

When Bindusāra had fallen sick Asoka left the govern- 39 ment of Ujjenī conferred on him by his father, and came to Pupphapura,[1] and when he had made himself master of 40 the city, after his father's death, he caused his eldest brother to be slain and took on himself the sovereignty in the splendid city.

The consort of prince Sumana, who bore the same name 41 (Sumanā), being with child, fled straightway by the east gate and went to a caṇḍāla village, and there the guardian 42 god of a nigrodha-tree[2] called her by her name, built a hut and gave it to her. And as, that very day, she bore a 43 beautiful boy, she gave to her son the name Nigrodha, enjoying the protection of the guardian god. When the 44 headman of the caṇḍālas saw (the mother), he looked on her as his own wife, and kept her seven years with honour. Then, 45 as the thera Mahāvaruṇa saw that the boy bore the signs of his destiny,[3] the arahant questioned his mother and ordained 46 him, and even in the room where they shaved him[4] he

[1] See note to 4. 31. UJJENĪ, Skr. Ujjayinī, now Ujjain in the Gwalior State, Central India, was the old capital of Avanti. RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, p. 3 foll.

[2] Nigrodha = *Ficus Indica*, banyan-tree.

[3] Upanissaya includes all those qualities, aptitudes and marks of an individual, which show that he is qualified to attain arahantship.

[4] The shaving of the hair is one of the ceremonies at the reception of a novice into the order.

attained to the state of arahant. Going thence to visit his 47 royal mother, he entered the splendid city by the south gate, and following the road that led to that village, he passed 48 (on his way) the king's court. Well pleased was the king by his grave bearing, but kindly feeling arose in him also by reason of a former life lived together.

49 Now once, in time past, there were three brothers, traders in honey; one was used to sell the honey, two to get the 50 honey. A certain paccekabuddha was sick of a wound; and another paccekabuddha, who, for his sake, wished for honey, 51 came even then to the city on his usual way for seeking alms. A maiden, who was going for water to the river-bank, saw 52 him. When she knew, from questioning him, that he wished for honey, she pointed with hand outstretched and said: 'Yonder is a honey-store, sir, go thither.'

53 The trader, with believing heart, gave to the buddha who came there a bowlful of honey, so that it ran over the edge. 54 As he saw the honey filling (the bowl) and flowing over the edge, and streaming down to the ground, he, full of faith, 55 wished: 'May I, for this gift, come by the undivided sovereignty of Jambudīpa, and may my command reach forth a yojana (upward) into the air and (downward) under the earth. 56 To his brothers as they came, he said: 'To a man of such and such a kind have I given honey; agree thereto since the 57 honey is yours also.' The eldest brother said grudgingly: 'It was surely a caṇḍāla, for the caṇḍālas ever clothe them-58 selves in yellow garments.' The second said: 'Away with thy paccekabuddha over the sea!' But when they heard his promise to let them participate of the reward, they gave their 59 sanction. Then the (maid who) had pointed out the store wished that she might become the royal spouse of the (first), and (desired) a lovely form with limbs of perfect outline.[1]

60 Asoka was he who gave the honey, the queen Asaṃdhimittā was the maid, Nigrodha he who uttered the word 'caṇḍāla', Tissa he who had wished him away over the sea.[2] 61 He who had uttered the word 'caṇḍāla' lived (in expiation

[1] Adissamānasaṃdhi means literally 'with invisible joints'.

[2] Pāravādī, lit. 'who had spoken of the further shore.'

thereof) in a caṇḍāla village, but because he had desired deliverance, he also, even in the seventh year, attained unto deliverance.[1]

The king, in whom kindly feelings had arisen towards that same (Nigrodha), summoned him in all haste into his presence; but he came staidly and calmly thither. And the king said to him: 'Sit, my dear, upon a fitting seat.' Since he saw no other bhikkhu there he approached the royal throne. Then, as he stepped toward the throne, the king thought: 'To-day, this sāmaṇera will be lord in my house!' Leaning on the king's hand he (the monk) mounted the throne and took his seat on the royal throne under the white canopy. And seeing him seated there king Asoka rejoiced greatly that he had honoured him according to his rank.[2] When he had refreshed him with hard and soft foods prepared for himself he questioned the sāmaṇera concerning the doctrine taught by the Saṃbuddha. Then the sāmaṇera preached to him the 'Appamādavagga'.[3] 62 63 64 65 66 67 68

And when the lord of the earth had heard him he was won to the doctrine of the Conqueror, and he said to (Nigrodha): 'My dear, I bestow on thee eight perpetual supplies of food.' And he answered: 'These will I bestow on my master.'[4] 69

[1] The stop should be put after āsi. Patthesi refers to the existence as madhuvāṇija. When the eldest brother had transferred the patti ('reward') to his younger brothers each one of them uttered a patthanā, that of the third was mokkha, i.e. the attainment of arahantship.

[2] Sambhāvetvāna guṇato is an allusion to 63. The king leaves it to Nigrodha to choose his own place since he does not know his rank. From the fact of Nigrodha's seating himself on the throne Asoka perceives that a monk of the highest rank is before him, and he rejoices that he did not assign a lower place to him.

[3] I.e. the section entitled 'unwearying zeal'. There are eleven minor vaggas in the Saṃyutta-Nikāya, bearing this title, and nine Appamādasuttas.

[4] Upajjhāyassa. Every novice on his entrance into the order chooses an upajjhāya 'a master', and an ācariya 'teacher'. It appears from M.V. I. 25. 6 ff., 32. 1 ff., that there is no difference between the functions of the two. The ācariya seems, according to M.V. I. 32. 1, to be only the deputy or substitute of the upajjhāya.

70 When again eight (supplies) were bestowed on him he allotted these to his teacher; and when yet eight more were bestowed
71 he gave them to the community of bhikkhus. And when yet again eight were bestowed, he, full of understanding, consented to accept them. Together with thirty-two bhik-
72 khus, he went on the following day, and when he had been served by the king with his own hands, and had preached the doctrine to the ruler, he confirmed him with many of his train in the refuges and precepts of duty.[1]

Here ends the Visit of the sāmaṇera Nigrodha.

73 Thereon the king, with glad faith, doubled day by day (the number) of bhikkhus (receiving bounty), till they were
74 sixty thousand. Putting aside the sixty thousand teachers of false doctrine,[2] he bestowed alms perpetually on sixty thousand bhikkhus in his house.

75 Having commanded costly foods, hard and soft, to be prepared speedily, in order to feast the sixty thousand bhik-
76 khus, and having caused the town to be gaily decked, he went to the brotherhood and bade them to his house; and after he had brought them thither, had bestowed hospitality on them and largely provided them with the things needful
77 for ascetics,[3] he questioned them thus: 'How great is (the content of) the dhamma taught by the Master?' And the thera Moggaliputta-Tissa answered him upon this matter.
78 When he heard: 'There are eighty-four (thousand) sections of the dhamma,' the king said: 'Each one of them will I honour with a vihāra.'

79 Then bestowing ninety-six koṭis (of money) in eighty-four
80 thousand towns, the ruler bade the kings all over the earth

[1] See note to 1. 32.

[2] Titthiyānaṃ. Those whom his father (according to v. 34) had already supported and whom Asoka did in fact entertain, with certain changes. He now gradually substituted Buddhist monks. Verses 73 and 74 are suspicious, since the Ṭīkā does not comment on them.

[3] Sāmaṇaka, see note to 4. 26.

begin (to build) vihāras and he himself began to build the Asokārāma.[1]

With the grant for the three gems,[2] for Nigrodha and for 81 the sick, he bestowed in (support of) the faith for each of them a hundred thousand (pieces of money) each day. With the 82 treasure spent for the Buddha the (priests) held thūpa-offerings[3] of many kinds continually in many vihāras. With the treasure 83 spent for the dhamma the people continually prepared the four things needful for the use of bhikkhus who were learned in the doctrine. Of the loads of water borne from the 84 Anotatta-lake he bestowed four on the brotherhood, one every day to sixty theras who knew the tipiṭaka; but one he had 85 commanded to be given to the queen Asaṃdhimittā, while the king himself had but two for his own use. To the sixty 86 thousand bhikkhus and to sixteen thousand women (of the palace), he gave day by day those tooth-sticks called nāga-latā.[4]

When, one day, the monarch heard of the nāga-king 87 Mahākāla of wondrous might, who had beheld four Buddhas, who had lived through one age of the world, he sent for him 88 to be brought (into his presence) fettered with a chain of gold; and when he had brought him and made him sit upon the throne under the white canopy, when he had done homage 89 to him with (gifts of) various flowers, and had bidden the sixteen thousand women (of the palace) to surround him, he (the king) spoke thus: 'Let us behold the (bodily) form of the 90 omniscient Great Sage, of Him who hath boundless knowledge, who hath set rolling the wheel of the true doctrine.' The nāga-king created a beauteous figure of the Buddha, 91 endowed with the thirty-two greater signs and brilliant with the eighty lesser signs (of a Buddha), surrounded by the 92

[1] The Asoka monastery in the capital Pāṭaliputta.

[2] Ratanattayaṃ. The three gems are Buddha, dhamma, saṃgha. Buddha, his doctrine and community, see note on 1. 32.

[3] Thūpapūjā. The tope (thūpa) is never missing from a Buddhist monastery. Festivals of which a tope is the centre are frequently mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa.

[4] The nāga-creeper. See 5. 25.

fathom-long rays of glory and adorned with the crown of flames.[1]

At the sight thereof the king was filled with joy and amaze-
93 ment and thought: 'Even such is the image created by this (Mahākāla), nay then, what (must) the (real) form of the Tathāgata have been!' And he was more and more uplifted
94 with joy, and for seven days without ceasing did he, the great king of wondrous power, keep the great festival called the 'Feast of the eyes'.[2]

Here ends the Entrance (of Asoka) into the doctrine.

95 Now the mighty and believing king and thera Moggaliputta had already in former times been seen by the holy ones.[3]
96 At the time of the Second Council, the theras, looking into the future, saw the downfall of the faith in the time of that
97 king. Looking around in the whole world for one who should be able to stay that downfall, they saw the Brahmā Tissa[4]
98 who had not long to live (in the Brahmā heaven). To him they went and prayed him, the mighty in wisdom, to bring this downfall to nought by being reborn himself among men.
99 And he granted their prayer, desiring that the doctrine should shine forth in brightness. But to the youthful Siggava and
100 Caṇḍavajji the sages spoke thus: 'When a hundred and eighteen years are passed the downfall of the religion will
101 begin. We shall not live to see that (time). You, bhikkhus,

[1] On the signs of a Buddha, see the Lakkhaṇa Suttanta in D. III, p. 142 foll., and GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, p. 138 foll.

[2] Akkhipūjā. It corresponds to our 'consecration'. See *Vin.* iii. 300.

[3] Vasīhi = 'by those who have the senses under control'. In the Kamb. Mahāv. follows here (vv. 1276–1338) an episode relating to Asaṃdhimittā. Asoka puts his consort to the test, she having boasted of merit acquired. He requires of her that she shall provide, between one day and another, robes for the 60,000 monks. With the help of the god Kubera, who remembers the kindness shown by her to the paccekabuddha (see above, vv. 51 foll.), she accomplishes what the king demands of her.

[4] Tissa, a dweller in the Brahmā heaven.

have had no part in this matter[1] therefore you merit punishment, and your punishment shall be this: that the doctrine 102 may shine forth in brightness, the Brahmā Tissa, mighty in wisdom, will be reborn in the house of the brahman Moggali. As time passes on one of you shall receive the boy into the 103 order, another shall carefully instruct him in the word of the Sambuddha.

There was a thera Dāsaka—disciple of the thera Upāli: 104 Soṇaka was his (Dāsaka's) disciple, and both those theras were disciples of Soṇaka.

In former times there lived in Vesālī a learned brahman 105 named Dāsaka. As the eldest of three hundred disciples he 106 dwelt with his teacher, and at the end of twelve years having come to the end of (studying) the vedas, he, going about with the (other) disciples, met the thera Upāli, dwelling at the Vālika-monastery, after he had established the sacred 107 word (in council), and sitting down near him he questioned him concerning hard passages in the vedas, and the other expounded them to him. 'A doctrine is come after all the 108 doctrines, O brahman, yet all doctrines end in the one doctrine; which is that one?'

Thus spoke the thera concerning the name (of the true 109 doctrine), but the young brahman knew it not. He asked: 'What manta is this?' and when the answer was given: 'The manta of the Buddha,' he said: 'Impart it to me,' and the 110 other answered: 'We impart it (only) unto one who wears our robe.'

And he (Dāsaka) asked his teacher and also his father and mother on behalf of that manta.[2] When he with three 111 hundred young brahmans had received from the thera the pabbajjā the brahman in time received the upasampadā. Then to a thousand (disciples) who had overcome the āsavas,[3] 112

[1] Imaṃ adhikaraṇaṃ, that is, in the work of the Second Council.

[2] That is, he asked if he might be permitted to learn it under the condition mentioned.

[3] By khīṇāsavā in v. 112 (see note on 3. 9) are understood the arahants; by ariyā in v. 113, all the Buddha's hearers (Vibhaṅga

among whom was the thera Dāsaka, did the thera Upāli teach
113 the whole tipiṭaka. Past reckoning is the number of the other Ariyas, and of those who yet stood outside (the religion), by whom the piṭakas were learned from the thera.

114 In the land of the Kāsi[1] lived the son of a caravan-guide, named Soṇaka. With his father and mother he had come
115 trading, to Giribbaja.[2] He went, youth as he was, fifteen years old, into the Veḷuvana[3] (monastery); fifty-five young brahmans, his companions, came with him.

116 When he saw the thera Dāsaka there with his disciples around him, faith came to him and he asked him for the pabbajjā-ordination. (The thera) said: 'Ask thy teacher.'
117 Afterwards, the young Soṇaka, having fasted three meal-times and won his parents' leave to enter the order, came again,
118 and then, when he had received from the thera Dāsaka the pabbajjā and the upasaṃpadā, together with those other
119 youths, he learned the three piṭakas. Amid the company of the thousand disciples of the thera, who had overcome the āsavas, who were versed in the piṭakas, the ascetic Soṇaka was the foremost.

120 In the city that bears the name of the pāṭali flower[4] there lived the wise Siggava, son of a minister. He, when eighteen
121 years old and dwelling in three palaces fitted for the three seasons of the year, went, in company with his friend
122 Caṇḍavajji, a minister's son, and surrounded by five hundred followers, to the Kukkuṭārāma,[5] and visited the thera Soṇaka.
123 And when he perceived that (the thera) sat sunk in a trance

372), by puthujjanā the remaining multitude who still stand outside the way leading to perfection.

[1] The Kāsis (Skr. kāśi) are one of the sixteen tribes of northern India, settled in the district round Benares. Kāsi is also the old name of Benares. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 24.

[2] The old capital of Magadha, Skr. girivraja 'Mountain Stronghold'. It was situated on the top of a hill, at the foot of which afterwards Rājagaha was built. Rhys Davids, *l. c.*, p. 37.

[3] I. e. Bamboo-grove.

[4] I. e. Pāṭaliputta. See note to 4. 31. Pāṭali *Bignonia suaveolens.*

[5] A monastery in Pāṭaliputta. V. A. Smith, *Asoka*, pp. 183, 193, 194.

with senses restrained[1] and did not answer his greeting, he asked the brotherhood about this matter. They said: 'Those 124 who are deep in a trance give no reply.' (So he asked) 'How come they forth from (the trance)?' And the bhikkhus said: 'At a call from the master, or a call from the brotherhood, or 125 when the allotted time is ended, or at the approach of death they come forth (from the trance).' 126

As they saw, speaking thus, that these (youths) were destined for holiness,[2] they caused the call from the brotherhood to be given; and (the thera) awoke from the trance and went to them. The youth asked: 'Wherefore didst thou not 127 speak to me, venerable one?' The (thera) answered: 'We were enjoying that which is for us to enjoy.' The (young man) said: 'Let us also enjoy this.' He answered: 'Those 128 only can we cause to enjoy it who are like unto us.'

Then, with their parents' leave, the young Siggava and 129 Caṇḍavajji and their five hundred followers likewise received the pabbajjā and (afterwards) the upasampadā-ordination from the thera Soṇaka. With him as their master the two eagerly 130 studied the three piṭakas and attained to the six supernormal powers.[3]

Thereafter when Siggava knew that Tissa had been born 131 into this world, the thera, from that time, frequented his house for seven years. And not for seven years did it befall 132 him to hear the words 'Go further on' (said to him). But in the eighth year did he hear those words 'Go further on', in that house. As he went forth the brahman Moggali, who was 133 even then coming in, saw him and asked him: 'Hast thou received aught in our house?' And he answered: 'Yes.' When (Moggali) went into his house he heard (what had 134 befallen) and when the thera came to the house again, on the second day afterwards, he reproached him with the lie. And 135

[1] Samāpattisamāpannaṃ. 'There are eight samāpattis, attainments or endowments, which are eight successive states induced by the ecstatic meditation,' CHILDERS, *P.D.* s.v. See SPENCE HARDY, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 170, and *J.P.T.S.*, 1909, p. 61.

[2] See note to 5. 45.

[3] On the six abhiññā, see note to 4. 12.

when he had heard the thera's words the brahman, full of
136 faith, gave him continual alms of his own food, and little by little did all of his household become believers, and the brahman continually offered hospitality (to the thera), giving him a seat in his house.

137 So as time passed the young Tissa gradually came to the age of sixteen years and reached the further shore of the
138 ocean of the three vedas. The thera, thinking that he might have speech with him in this way, made all the seats in his
139 house to vanish, save the seat of the young brahman. Being come from the Brahmā-world (this latter) loved cleanliness, and therefore were they used to keep his chair hung up for better care thereof.[1]

140 Then the people in the house, finding no other seat, full of confusion, since the thera had to stand, prepared the seat
141 of the young Tissa for him. When the young brahman returned from his teacher's house and saw (the thera) sitting there he fell into anger and spoke to him in unfriendly wise.
142 The thera said to him: 'Young man, dost thou know the manta?' And the young brahman (for answer) asked him the
143 same question again. Since the thera replied: 'I know it,' he asked him concerning hard passages in the vedas. The thera
144 expounded them to him; for, when leading the lay life, he had already studied the vedas even to the end. How should he not be able to expound them since he had mastered the four special sciences?[2]

145 'For him whose thought arises and does not perish, thought shall perish and not arise (again); but for him whose thought shall perish and not arise, thought shall arise (again) and not perish.'[3]

[1] This verse is suspicious; the Ṭīkā makes no comment on it.

[2] Pabhinnapatisambhida, see note to 4. 62.

[3] A play on the double meaning of cittaṃ and nirujjhati. Whosoever thinks aright and whose thought does not go astray, i. e. whosoever knows the truth, his intellect comes unto nibbāṇa never to return again. But on the other hand, he who does not think aright and does not follow the true doctrine will enter into a new existence and will not reach deliverance.

The wise thera asked this question from the (chapter called) 146 Cittayamaka.[1] And it was as the (darkness of) night to the other, and he said to him: 'What kind of manta is that, 147 O bhikkhu?' 'The manta of the Buddha,' answered (the thera); and when the other said: 'Impart it to me,' he said: 'I impart it (only) to one who wears our robe.'[2]

So with the leave of his father and mother (the young man) 148 received the pabbajjā-ordination, for the sake of the manta, and the thera, when he had ordained him, imparted to him duly the (method of the) kammaṭṭhānas.[3] By practice of 149 meditation this highly gifted man soon won the fruit of sotāpatti,[4] and when the thera was aware of this he sent him to 150 the thera Caṇḍavajji that he might learn the suttapiṭaka and abhidhammapiṭaka of him. And this he learned (from Caṇḍavajji).

And thereafter the monk Siggava, having conferred on him 151 the upasampadā, taught him the vinaya and again instructed him in the two other (piṭakas). When, afterwards, the young 152 Tissa had gained the true insight,[5] he attained in time to the mastery of the six supernormal powers and reached the rank of a thera. Far and wide shone his renown like the sun and 153 moon. The world paid heed to his word even as to the word of the Sambuddha.

Here ends the Story of the thera Tissa, the son of Moggali.

One day the prince[6] (Tissa) when hunting saw gazelles 154 sporting joyously in the wild. And at this sight he thought: 'Even the gazelles sport thus joyously, who feed on grass in 155

[1] I. e. 'The double thought.' The reference is to the Yamakappakaraṇa of the abhidhamma.

[2] Cf. 5. 109, 110.

[3] Kammaṭṭhāna 'The foundations of (right) acting'. By this is meant the right method for the practice of meditation. See CHILDERS, *P.D.* s. v.

[4] I. e. the first stage of sanctification. See note to 1. 33.

[5] The vipassanā is one of the signs of the arahant. It is tenfold. See the details in AUNG, *Compendium of Philosophy*, pp. 65 foll., 180.

[6] Uparājā, viceregent.

the wild. Wherefore are not the bhikkhus joyous and gay, who have their food and dwelling in comfort?'

156 Returned home he told the king his thought. To teach him the king handed over to him the government of the

157 kingdom for one week, saying: 'Enjoy, prince, for one week, my royal state; then will I put thee to death.' Thus said the ruler.

158 And when the week was gone by he asked: 'Wherefore art thou thus wasted away?' And when (Tissa) answered: 'By reason of the fear of death,' the king spoke again to him

159 and said: 'Thinking that thou must die when the week was gone by, thou wast no longer joyous and gay; how then can ascetics be joyous and gay, my dear, who think ever upon death?'

160 And (Tissa) when his brother spoke thus, was turned toward faith in the doctrine (of the Buddha). And afterwards when

161 he once went forth hunting, he saw the thera Mahādhammarakkhita, the self-controlled, sitting at the foot of a tree,

162 and fanned by a cobra with a branch of a sāla-tree. And that wise (prince) thought: 'When shall I, like this thera, be ordained in the religion of the Conqueror, and live in the forest-wilderness?'

163 When the thera, to convert him, had come thither flying through the air, standing on the water of the pond in the

164 Asokārāma, he, leaving his goodly garments behind him in the

165 air, plunged into the water and bathed his limbs. And when the prince saw this marvel he was filled with joyful faith, and the wise man made this wise resolve: 'This very day will

166 I receive the pabbajjā-ordination.' He went to the king and respectfully besought him to let him receive the pabbajjā. Since the king could not turn him from (his resolve) he took

167 him with him and went with a great retinue to the vihāra. There (the prince) received the pabbajjā from the thera

168 Mahādhammarakkhita and with him four hundred thousand persons, but the number of those who afterwards were ordained

169 is not known. A nephew of the monarch known by the name Aggibrahmā was the consort of the king's daughter

170 Saṃghamittā and the son[2] of these two (was) named

Sumana.[1] He (Aggibrahmā) also craved the king's leave and was ordained together with the prince.

The prince's ordination, whence flowed blessing to many 171 folk, was in the fourth year of (the reign of) king Asoka. In 172 the same year he received the upasampadā-ordination, and since his destiny was holiness[2] the prince, zealously striving, became an arahant, gifted with the six supernormal powers.

All those beautiful vihāras (then) begun they duly finished 173 in all the cities within three years; but, by the miraculous 174 power of the thera Indagutta, who watched over the work, the ārāma named after Asoka was likewise quickly brought to completion. On those spots which the Conqueror himself 175 had visited the monarch built beautiful cetiyas here and there. On every side from the eighty-four thousand cities came letters 176 on one day with the news: 'The vihāras are completed.'

When the great king, great in majesty, in wondrous power 177 and valour, received the letters, he, desiring to hold high festival in all the ārāmas at once, proclaimed in the town 178 with beat of drum: 'On the seventh day from this day shall a festival of all the ārāmas be kept, in every way, in all the provinces. Yojana by yojana on the earth shall great largess 179 be given; the ārāmas in the villages and the streets shall be adorned. In all the vihāras let lavish gifts of every kind be 180 bestowed upon the brotherhood, according to the time and the means (of givers), and adornments, such as garlands of lamps 181 and garlands of flowers, here and there, and all that is meet for festivals,[3] with music of every kind, in manifold ways. And all are to take upon themselves the duties of the 182 uposatha-day and hear religious discourse, and offerings of

[1] In my edition of the text the stop should be deleted after sāmiko and put after nāmato. So pi in v. 170 refers to Aggibrahmā.

[2] He was sampannaupanissayo. Cf. note to 5. 45.

[3] Upahāra. The Ṭīkā explains this word thus: sabbe gandhabbā sakasakaturiyabhaṇḍaṃ gahetvā tattha tattha vihāresu gandhabbaṃ va karontū ti attho 'Let all the minstrels taking each his own instrument of music play in the vihāras everywhere'.

183 many kinds must they make on the same day.' And all the people everywhere held religious festivals of every kind, glorious as the world of gods,[1] even as had been commanded and (did) yet more.

184 On that day the great king wearing all his adornments with the women of his household, with his ministers and sur-
185 rounded by the multitude of his troops, went to his own ārāma, as if cleaving the earth. In the midst of the brotherhood he
186 stood, bowing down to the venerable brotherhood. In the assembly were eighty koṭis of bhikkhus, and among these
187 were a hundred thousand ascetics who had overcome the āsavas. Moreover there were ninety times one hundred thou-
188 sand bhikkhunīs, and among these a thousand had overcome the āsavas. These (monks and nuns) wrought the miracle called the 'unveiling of the world' to the end that the king
189 Dhammāsoka might be converted.—Caṇḍāsoka (the wicked Asoka) was he called in earlier times, by reason of his evil deeds; he was known as Dhammāsoka (the pious Asoka) after-
190 wards because of his pious deeds.—He looked around over the (whole) Jambudīpa bounded by the ocean and over all the
191 vihāras adorned with the manifold (beauties of) the festival—and with exceeding joy, as he saw them, he asked the brethren, while taking his seat: 'Whose generosity toward the doctrine of the Blessed One was ever (so) great (as mine), venerable sirs?'

192 The thera Moggaliputta answered the king's question: 'Even in the lifetime of the Blessed One there was no generous giver like to thee.'

193 When the king heard this he rejoiced yet more and asked: 'Nay then, is there a kinsman of Buddha's religion[2] like unto me?'

194 But the thera perceived the destiny of the king's son

[1] The Ṭīkā understands the word devalokamanoramā thus, and adds: nakkhattaghuṭṭhe devanagare devagaṇā viya manussā manoramā mahāpūjā paṭiyādesuṃ ti attho 'As the multitudes of gods in the celestial city, where festival has been proclaimed, so did men arrange splendid offerings'.

[2] **Sāsanadāyāda**: evidently the term is a title of honour.

Mahinda[1] and of his daughter Saṃghamittā, and foresaw the 195 progress of the doctrine that was to arise from (them), and he, on whom lay the charge of the doctrine, replied thus to the king: 'Even a lavish giver of gifts like to thee is not 196 a kinsman of the religion; giver of wealth[2] is he called, O 197 ruler of men. But he who lets son or daughter enter the religious order is a kinsman of the religion and withal a giver of gifts.'

Since the monarch would fain become a kinsman of the 198 religion he asked Mahinda and Saṃghamittā, who stood near: 'Do you wish to receive the pabbajjā, dear ones? The 199 pabbajjā is held to be a great (good).' Then, when they heard their father's words, they said to him: 'This very day we 200 would fain enter the order, if thou, O king, dost wish it; for us, even as for thee, will blessing come of our pabbajjā.'

For already since the time of the prince's (Tissa's) pabbajjā 201 had he resolved to enter the order, and she since (the ordination) of Aggibrahmā.[3] Although the monarch wished to confer 202 on Mahinda the dignity of prince-regent, yet did he consent to his ordination with the thought: 'This (last) is the greater dignity.' So he permitted his dear son Mahinda, distin- 203 guished (above all others) by intelligence, beauty and strength, and his daughter Saṃghamittā, to be ordained with all solemnity.[4]

At that time Mahinda, the king's son, was twenty years 204 old, and the king's daughter Saṃghamittā was then eighteen years old. On the very same day did he receive the pabbajjā- 205 and also the upasampadā-ordination, and for her the pabbajjā-ordination and the placing under a teacher[5] took place on the same day.

The prince's master[6] was the thera named after Moggali;[7] 206

[1] See note to 5. 45.
[2] Paccayadāyaka. On paccaya see note to 3. 14.
[3] Cf. 5. 167, 170.
[4] The Ṭīkā explains samahaṃ by sapūjāsakkāraṃ.
[5] This was necessary as Saṃghamittā was not of the prescribed age.
[6] Upajjhāya, see note to 5. 69.
[7] That is, Moggaliputtatissa, 'Tissa, the son of Moggali.'

the pabbajjā-ordination was conferred on him by the thera
207 Mahādeva, but Majjhantika pronounced the ceremonial words,[1] and even in the very place where he (received) the upasampadā-ordination this great man reached the state of an arahant together with the special kinds of knowledge.[2]

208 The directress of Saṃghamittā was the renowned Dhammapālā, and her teacher was Ayupālā; in time she became free
209 from the āsavas. Those two lights of the doctrine, who brought great blessing to the island of Laṅkā, received the pabbajjā in the sixth year of king Dhammāsoka. The great
210 Mahinda, the converter of the island (of Laṅkā), learned the three piṭakas with his master in three years. This bhikkhuṇī,
211 even like the new moon, and the bhikkhu Mahinda, like the sun, illumined always the sky, the doctrine of the Saṃbuddha.

212 Once in time past, a dweller in the forest, who went forth into the forest from Pāṭaliputta, loved a wood-nymph named
213 Kuntī. Owing to the union with him she bore two sons, the elder was Tissa and the younger was named Sumitta. After-
214 wards both received the pabbajjā-ordination from the thera Mahāvaruṇa and attained to arahantship and the possession of the six supernormal powers.

215 (Once) the elder suffered pains in the foot from the poison of a venomous insect, and when his younger brother asked (what he needed) he told him that a handful of ghee was the
216 remedy. But the thera set himself against pointing out to the king what things needful in sickness,[3] and against going
217 in search of the ghee after the midday meal.[4] 'If, on thy begging-round, thou receivest ghee, bring it to me,' said the
218 thera Tissa to the excellent thera Sumitta. When he went

[1] Kammavācaṃ akā: i. e. he was president of the chapter when Mahinda was ordained. Kammavācā 'is the name of the proceedings at a kamma or ecclesiastical act, by which some question is decided by vote'. CHILDERS, *P.D.* s. v.

[2] See note to 5. 144.

[3] Gilānapaccaye is a 'locative of aim', which concurs with the 'final dative' (SPEYER, *Ved. and Skr. Syntax*, para. 81 b), and refers to nivedanaṃ 'informing, announcement'.

[4] The begging-round of the mendicants must be carried out in the forenoon, according to the rules of the order.

forth on his begging-round he received not one handful of ghee, and (in the meanwhile) the pain had come to such a pass that even a hundred vessels of ghee could not have cured it. And because of that malady the thera was near to death, 219 and when he had exhorted (the other) to strive unceasingly he formed the resolve to pass into nibbāna.

Lifted up in the air as he sat, and winning mastery of his 220 own body by the fire-meditation,[1] according to his own free resolve, he passed into nibbāna. Flames that broke forth 221 from his body consumed the flesh and skin of the thera's whole body,[2] the bones they did not consume.

When the monarch heard that the thera had died in this 222 wise he went to his own ārāma surrounded by the multitude of his troops. Mounted on an elephant the king brought 223 down the bones,[3] and when he had caused due honour to be paid to the relics, he questioned the brotherhood as to (the thera's) illness. Hearing about it he was greatly moved, 224 and had tanks made at the city gates and filled them with remedies for the sick, and day by day he had remedies be- 225 stowed on the congregation of the bhikkhus, thinking: might the bhikkhus never find remedies hard to obtain.

The thera Sumitta passed into nibbāna even when he was 226 walking (in meditation) in the caṅkama-hall,[4] and by this also was a great multitude of people converted to the doctrine (of the Buddha). Both these theras, the sons of Kuntī, who 227 had wrought a great good in the world, passed into nibbāna in the eighth year of Asoka.

From that time onwards the revenues of the brotherhood 228

[1] Tejojhānavasena. The meditating ascetic concentrates all his thoughts on the concept 'fire' (tejo) which is one of the ten kasiṇāni or divisions of kammaṭṭhāna (see CHILDERS, s.v. kasiṇo, and note to 5. 148); the effect is that a fire arises within his body which consumes him.

[2] Nimmaṃsacchārikaṃ ḍahi sakalaṃ kāyaṃ, literally, 'burned the whole body into a fleshless and skinless one.'

[3] Which were still floating in the air.

[4] A caṅkama belongs to each vihāra. It is 'a straight piece of ground cleared and levelled for the purpose of walking up and down upon for exercise and meditation'. See *S.B.E.* xx, p. 103, n. 1.

were exceeding great, and since those who were converted
229 later caused the revenues to increase, heretics who had (thereby) lost revenue and honour took likewise the yellow robe, for the
230 sake of revenue, and dwelt together with the bhikkhus. They proclaimed their own doctrines as the doctrine of the Buddha and carried out their own practices even as they wished.

231 And when the thera Moggaliputta, great in firmness of soul, saw the coming-out of this exceedingly evil plague-boil
232 on the doctrine, he, far-seeing, deliberated upon the right time to do away with it. And when he had committed his great company of bhikkhus to (the direction of) the thera Mahinda,
233 he took up his abode, all alone, further up the Ganges on the Ahogaṅga-mountain, and for seven years he gave himself up to solitary retreat.

234 By reason of the great number of the heretics and their unruliness, the bhikkhus could not restrain them by the law;
235 and therefore the bhikkhus in Jambudīpa for seven years held no uposatha-ceremony nor the ceremony of pavāraṇā in all the ārāmas.

236 When the great king, the famed Dhammāsoka, was aware of this, he sent a minister to the splendid Asokārāma, laying
237 on him this command: 'Go, settle this matter and let the uposatha-festival be carried out by the community of bhikkhus
238 in my ārāma.' This fool went thither, and when he had called the community of bhikkhus together he announced the king's command: 'Carry out the uposatha-festival.'

239 'We hold not the uposatha-festival with heretics,' the community of bhikkhus replied to that misguided minister.
240 The minister struck off the head of several theras, one by one, with his sword, saying, 'I will force you to hold the uposatha-
241 festival.' When the king's brother, Tissa, saw that crime he came speedily and sat on the seat nearest to the minister.
242 When the minister saw the thera he went to the king and told him (the whole matter).

243 When the monarch heard it he was troubled and went with all speed and asked the community of bhikkhus, greatly disturbed in mind: 'Who, in truth, is guilty of this deed that has been done?'

And certain of them answered in their ignorance: 'The guilt 244 is thine,' and others said: 'Both of you are guilty'; but those who were wise answered: 'Thou art not guilty.'

When the king heard this he said: 'Is there a bhikkhu who 245 is able to set my doubts to rest and to befriend religion?' 'There is the thera Tissa, the son of Moggali, O king,' 246 answered the brethren to the king. Then was the king filled with zeal.

He sent four theras, each attended by a thousand bhikkhus 247 and four ministers, each with a thousand followers, that same 248 day, with the charge laid on them by (the king) himself to bring the thera thither; but though they prayed him he came not.

When the king heard this he sent again eight theras and 249 eight ministers each with a thousand followers, but even as before he came not.

The king asked: 'Nay then, how shall the thera come?' 250 The bhikkhus told him how the thera could be moved to come: 'O great king, if they shall say to him, "be our helper, 251 venerable sir, to befriend religion," then will the thera come.'

Again the king sent (messengers) sixteen theras and sixteen 252 ministers, each with a thousand followers, laying that (same) charge upon them, and he said to them: 'Aged as he is, the 253 thera will not enter any wheeled vehicle; bring the thera by ship on the Ganges.'

So they went to him and told him, and hardly had he heard 254 (their message) but he rose up. And they brought the thera in a ship and the king went to meet him. Going down even 255 knee-deep into the water the king respectfully gave his right hand to the thera, as he came down from the ship.[1] The 256

[1] According to Smp. 310, 12 foll. the king had dreamed a dream, the night before, which the soothsayers interpreted thus, that a samaṇanāga, a great ascetic, would touch his right hand. As the thera now laid hold of the king's hand the attendants were about to kill him. For to touch the king's hand was a crime punishable by death. However, the king restrained them. But the thera laid hold of the king's hand as a sign that he accepted him as his pupil.

venerable thera took the king's right hand [1] from compassion toward him, and came down from the ship.

257 The king led the thera to the pleasure-garden called Rati-vaḍḍhana, and when he had washed and anointed his feet and 258 had seated himself the monarch spoke thus, to test the thera's 259 faculty: 'Sir, I would fain see a miracle.' And to the question which (miracle he desired) he answered: 'An earthquake.' And again the other said to him: 'Which wouldst thou see, 260 of the whole (earth shaken) or only of a single region?' Then when he had asked: 'Which is the more difficult?' and heard (the reply): 'The shaking of a single region is the more difficult,' he declared that he desired to see this last.

261 Then within the boundary of a yojana (in extent) did the thera place a waggon, a horse and a man, and a vessel full of 262 water at the four cardinal points, and over this yojana by his miraculous power he caused the earth to tremble, together with the half of (each of) these (things) and let the king seated there behold this.[2]

263 Then the monarch asked the thera whether or not he himself shared the guilt of the murder of the bhikkhus by the 264 minister. The thera taught the king: 'There is no resulting guilt [3] without evil intent,' and he recited the Tittira-jātaka.[4]

265 Abiding a week there in the pleasant royal park he in-266 structed the ruler in the lovely religion of the Sambuddha. In

[1] Here there is a play on the words dakkhiṇa 'right' and dakkhiṇeyya 'venerable'.

[2] The expressions are difficult to render but the sense is clear. On the boundaries of a space measuring a mile in diameter, there were placed at N., S., E., and W. a waggon, a horse, a man, and a vessel full of water. The earthquake was so strictly limited in its action that these objects were affected by the quaking only as to the half on the inner side, the other half remained unmoved.

[3] In paṭiccakamma the term kamma is employed in the technical sense as the sum of all good and evil deeds that bring of necessity reward or punishment as their result, and if not balanced lead inevitably to a new existence after death. Paṭicca means 'following on something, conditioned by something'. The formation of the compound is the same as in paṭiccasamuppāda, paccayākāra.

[4] FAUSBÖLL, *Jātaka* III. 64 foll. The Kambodian Mah. inserts here a metrical version of the story.

this same week the monarch sent out two yakkhas and assembled together all the bhikkhus on the earth. On the 267 seventh day he went to his own splendid ārāma and arranged an assembly of the community of bhikkhus in its full numbers.

Then seated with the thera on one side behind a curtain the 268 ruler called to him in turn the bhikkhus of the several confessions and asked them: 'Sir, what did the Blessed One 269 teach?' And they each expounded their wrong doctrine, the Sassata-doctrine and so forth.[1] And all these adherents of 270 false doctrine did the king cause to be expelled from the order; those who were expelled were in all sixty thousand. And now 271 he asked the rightly-believing bhikkhus: 'What does the Blessed One teach?' And they answered: 'He teaches the Vibhajja-doctrine.'[2]

And the monarch asked the thera: 'Sir, does the Saṃ- 272 buddha (really) teach the Vibhajja-doctrine?' The thera answered. 'Yes.' And when the king knew this he was glad at heart and said: 'Since the community is (henceforth) puri- 273 fied, sir, therefore should the brotherhood hold the uposatha-festival,' and he made the thera guardian of the order and 274 returned to his fair capital; the brotherhood held thenceforth the uposatha-festival in concord.

Out of the great number of the brotherhood of bhikkhus 275 the thera chose a thousand learned bhikkhus, endowed with the six supernormal powers, knowing the three piṭakas and versed in the special sciences,[3] to make a compilation of the 276 true doctrine. Together with them did he, in the Asokārāma, make a compilation of the true dhamma.[4] Even as the thera 277 Mahākassapa and the thera Yasa had held a council so did the thera Tissa. In the midst of this council the thera Tissa set 278

[1] The different diṭṭhiyo or heretical doctrines, reckoned as sixty-two in all, are frequently mentioned in the canonical books, thus in the Brahmajālasuttanta of the Dīghanikāya (D. 1, 13 foll.).

[2] CHILDERS (*P. D.* s. v. vibhajati) renders the sense appropriately with 'religion of Logic or Reason'. Vibhajjavāda is identical with theravāda. KERN, *Manual*, p. 110.

[3] See the notes to 4. 62 and 4. 12.

[4] Kātuṃ saddhammasaṃgahaṃ. See note to 3. 17.

forth the Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa,[1] refuting the other doc-
279 trines. Thus was this council under the protection of king Asoka ended by the thousand bhikkhus in nine months.

280 In the seventeenth year of the king's reign the wise (thera) who was seventy-two years old, closed the council with a great
281 pavāraṇā-ceremony.[2] And, as if to shout applause to the re-establishment of doctrine, the great earth shook at the close of the council.

282 Nay, abandoning the high, the glorious Brahma-heaven and coming down for the sake of the doctrine to the loathsome world of men, he, who had fulfilled his own duty, fulfilled the duties toward the doctrine. Who else verily may neglect duties toward the doctrine?

Here ends the fifth chapter, called 'The Third Council', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] A work of the Abhidhamma. *Kathāvatthu*, ed. by A. C. Taylor, vol. i, ii, *P.T.S.* 1894, 1897.

[2] See note to 12. 2.

CHAPTER VI

THE COMING OF VIJAYA

IN the country of the Vaṅgas[1] in the Vaṅga capital there 1
lived once a king of the Vaṅgas. The daughter of the king
of the Kaliṅgas was that king's consort. By his spouse the 2
king had a daughter, the soothsayers prophesied her union
with the king of beasts. Very fair was she and very amorous 3
and for shame the king and queen could not suffer her.

Alone she went forth from the house, desiring the joy of 4
independent life; unrecognized she joined a caravan travelling
to the Magadha country. In the Lāḷa country a lion attacked 5
the caravan in the forest, the other folk fled this way and that,
but she fled along the way by which the lion had come.

When the lion had taken his prey and was leaving the spot 6
he beheld her from afar, love (for her) laid hold on him, and
he came towards her with waving tail and ears laid back.
Seeing him she bethought her of that prophecy of the sooth- 7
sayers which she had heard, and without fear she caressed him
stroking his limbs.

The lion, roused to fiercest passion by her touch, took her 8
upon his back and bore her with all speed to his cave, and
there he was united with her, and from this union with 9
him the princess in time bore twin-children, a son and a
daughter.

The son's hands and feet were formed like a lion's and there- 10
fore she named him Sīhabāhu, but the daughter (she named)
Sīhasīvalī. When he was sixteen years old the son questioned 11
his mother on the doubt (that had arisen in him): 'Where-
fore are you and our father so different, dear mother?' She 12
told him all. Then he asked: 'Why do we not go forth (from
here)?' And she answered: 'Thy father has closed the cave
up with a rock.' Then he took that barrier before the great 13

[1] I.e. Bengal.

cave upon his shoulder and went (a distance of) fifty yojanas going and coming in one day.

14 Then (once), when the lion had gone forth in search of prey, (Sīhabāhu) took his mother on his right shoulder and his 15 young sister on his left, and went away with speed. They clothed themselves with branches of trees, and so came to a border-village and there, even at that time, was a son of the 16 princess's uncle, a commander in the army of the Vaṅga king, to whom was given the rule over the border-country; and he was just then sitting under a banyan-tree overseeing the work that was done.

17 When he saw them he asked them (who they were) and they said: 'We are forest-folk'; the commander bade (his 18 people) give them clothing; and this turned into splendid (garments). He had food offered to them on leaves and by reason of their merit these were turned into dishes of gold. 19 Then, amazed, the commander asked them, 'Who are you?' 20 The princess told him her family and clan. Then the commander took his uncle's daughter with him and went to the capital of the Vaṅgas and married her.

21 When the lion, returning in haste to his cave, missed those three (persons), he was sorrowful, and grieving after his 22 son he neither ate nor drank. Seeking for his children he went to the border-village, and every village where he came was deserted by the dwellers therein.

23 And the border-folk came to the king and told him this: 'A lion ravages thy country; ward off (this danger) O king!'

24 Since he found none who could ward off (this danger) he had a thousand (pieces of money) led about the city on an elephant's back and this proclamation made: 'Let him 25 who brings the lion receive these!' And in like manner the monarch (offered) two thousand and three thousand. Twice 26 did Sīhabāhu's[1] mother restrain him. The third time without asking his mother's leave, Sīhabāhu took the three thousand gold-pieces (as reward) for slaying his own father.

27 They presented the youth to the king, and the king spoke

[1] Sīhabhuja in the text (*metri causa!*) which means the same as Sīhabāhu 'Lion-arm'.

thus to him: 'If thou shalt take the lion I will give thee at once the kingdom.' And he went to the opening of the cave, and as soon as he saw from afar the lion who came forward, for love toward his son, he shot an arrow to slay him. 28

The arrow struck the lion's forehead but because of his tenderness (toward his son) it rebounded and fell on the earth at the youth's feet. And so it fell out three times, then did the king of beasts grow wrathful and the arrow sent at him struck him and pierced his body. 29 30

(Sīhabāhu) took the head of the lion with the mane and returned to his city. And just seven days had passed then since the death of the king of the Vaṅgas. Since the king had no son the ministers, who rejoiced over his deed on hearing that he was the king's grandson and on recognizing his mother, met all together and said of one accord to the prince Sīhabāhu 'Be thou (our) king'. 31 32 33

And he accepted the kingship but handed it over then to his mother's husband and he himself went with Sīhasīvalī to the land of his birth. There he built a city, and they called it Sīhapura, and in the forest stretching a hundred yojanas around he founded villages. In the kingdom of Lāḷa, in that city did Sīhabāhu, ruler of men, hold sway when he had made Sīhasīvalī his queen. As time passed on his consort bore twin sons sixteen times, the eldest was named Vijaya, the second Sumitta; together there were thirty-two sons. In time the king consecrated Vijaya as prince-regent. 34 35 36 37 38

Vijaya was of evil conduct and his followers were even (like himself), and many intolerable deeds of violence were done by them. Angered by this the people told the matter to the king; the king, speaking persuasively to them, severely blamed his son. But all fell out again as before, the second and yet the third time; and the angered people said to the king: 'Kill thy son.' 39 40 41

Then did the king cause Vijaya and his followers, seven hundred men, to be shaven over half the head[1] and put them 42 43

[1] The shaving of the hair signifies loss of freedom. In Sinhalese miḍi (= Skr. muṇḍita 'shaven') means 'slave'.

on a ship and sent them forth upon the sea, and their wives
44 and children also. The men, women, and children sent forth separately landed separately, each (company) upon an
45 island, and they dwelt even there. The island where the children landed was called Naggadīpa[1] and the island where
46 the women landed Mahilādīpaka.[2] But Vijaya landed at the haven called Suppāraka,[3] but being there in danger by reason of the violence of his followers he embarked again.

47 The prince named VIJAYA, the valiant, landed in Laṅkā, in the region called Tambapaṇṇi on the day that the Tathāgata lay down between the two twinlike sāla-trees to pass into nibbāṇa.

Here ends the sixth chapter, called 'The Coming of Vijaya', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] That is, 'Island of children,' from nagga 'naked'.

[2] That is, 'Island of women.'

[3] Skt. Śūrpāraka, situated on the west coast of India, now Sopāra in the Thāna District, north of Bombay. See *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, s.v.

CHAPTER VII

THE CONSECRATING OF VIJAYA

WHEN the Guide of the World, having accomplished the 1 salvation of the whole world and having reached the utmost stage of blissful rest, was lying on the bed of his nibbāṇa, in the midst of the great assembly of gods, he, the great sage, 2 the greatest of those who have speech, spoke to Sakka[1] who stood there near him: 'Vijaya, son of king Sīhabāhu, is come 3 to Laṅkā from the country of Lāḷa, together with seven hundred followers. In Laṅkā, O lord of gods, will my 4 religion be established, therefore carefully protect him with his followers and Laṅkā.'

When the lord of gods heard the words of the Tathāgata 5 he from respect handed over the guardianship of Laṅkā to the god who is in colour like the lotus.[2]

And no sooner had the god received the charge from 6 Sakka than he came speedily to Laṅkā and sat down at the foot of a tree in the guise of a wandering ascetic. And all 7 the followers of Vijaya came to him and asked him: 'What island is this, sir?' 'The island of Laṅkā,' he answered. 'There are no men here, and here no dangers will arise.' 8 And when he had spoken so and sprinkled water on them from his water-vessel, and had wound a thread about their hands[3] 9 he vanished through the air. And there appeared, in the form of a bitch, a yakkhiṇī who was an attendant (of Kuvaṇṇā).[4]

[1] A name of Indra, king of the gods.

[2] Devass' uppalavaṇṇassa, that is Viṣṇu. The allusion is to the colour of the BLUE lotus (uppala).

[3] As a paritta, that is as a protecting charm against the influence of demons.

[4] The Ṭīkā says: Kuvaṇṇāya Sīsapāti-nāmikā paricārikayakkhiṇī. The Kambodian Mah. also gives the same name Sīsapātika.

10 One (of Vijaya's men) went after her, although he was forbidden by the prince (for he thought), 'Only where there
11 is a village are dogs to be found.' Her mistress, a yakkhiṇī named Kuvaṇṇā, sat there [1] at the foot of a tree spinning, as a woman-hermit might.

12 When the man saw the pond and the woman-hermit sitting there, he bathed there and drank and taking young shoots of
13 lotuses and water in lotus-leaves he came forth again. And she said to him: 'Stay! thou art my prey!' Then the man
14 stood there as if fast bound. But because of the power of the magic thread she could not devour him, and though he was entreated by the yakkhiṇī, the man would not yield up
15 the thread. Then the yakkhiṇī seized him, and hurled him who cried aloud into a chasm. And there in like manner she hurled (all) the seven hundred one by one after him.

16 And when they all did not return fear came on Vijaya; armed with the five weapons [2] he set out, and when he beheld
17 the beautiful pond, where he saw no footstep of any man coming forth, but saw that woman-hermit there, he thought:
18 'Surely my men have been seized by this woman.' And he said to her, 'Lady, hast thou not seen my men?' 'What dost thou want with thy people, prince?' she answered. 'Drink thou and bathe.'

19 Then was it clear to him: 'This is surely a yakkhiṇī, she knows my rank,' and swiftly, uttering his name, he came at
20 her drawing his bow. He caught the yakkhiṇī in the noose about the neck, and seizing her hair with his left hand he
21 lifted his sword in the right and cried: 'Slave! give me back my men, or I slay thee!' Then, tormented with fear
22 the yakkhiṇī prayed him for her life. 'Spare my life, sir, I will give thee a kingdom and do thee a woman's service and other service as thou wilt.'

23 And that he might not be betrayed he made the yakkhiṇī swear an oath, and so soon as the charge was laid on her, 'Bring hither my men with all speed,' she brought them to

[1] There, that is where Vijaya's man followed the bitch.

[2] Naddhapañcāyudho. The five weapons are, according to CLOUGH, sword, bow, battle-axe, spear, and shield.

that place. When he said, 'These men are hungry,' she showed them rice and other (foods) and goods of every kind that had been in the ships of those traders whom she had devoured. 24

(Vijaya's) men prepared the rice and the condiments, and when they had first set them before the prince they all ate of them. 25

[1] When the yakkhinī had taken the first portions (of the meal) that Vijaya handed to her, she was well pleased, and assuming the lovely form of a sixteen-year-old maiden she approached the prince adorned with all the ornaments. At the foot of a tree she made a splendid bed, well-covered around with a tent, and adorned with a canopy. And seeing this, the king's son, looking forward to the time to come, took her to him as his spouse and lay (with her) blissfully on that bed; and all his men encamped around the tent. 26 27 28 29

As the night went on he heard the sounds of music and singing, and asked the yakkhinī, who was lying near him: 'What means this noise?' And the yakkhinī thought: 'I will bestow kingship on my lord and all the yakkhas must be slain, for (else) the yakkhas will slay me, for it was through me that men have taken up their dwelling (in Laṅkā).'[2] 30 31

And she said to the prince: 'Here there is a yakkha-city called Sirīsavatthu; the daughter of the chief of the yakkhas[3] who dwells in the city of Laṅkā, has been brought hither, and her mother too is come.[4] And for the wedding there is high festival, lasting seven days; therefore there is this noise, for a great multitude is gathered together. Even to-day 32 33 34 35

[1] Instead of verses 26–34 the later (Sinhalese) recension has a somewhat divergent reading, the text of which is printed in my edition, p. 326 foll. Appendix A. Cf. *ibid.*, Introd., p. xxxiv.

[2] To manussāvāsakāraṇā 'because of (my) bringing about a settlement of men', the Ṭīkā adds the words imasmiṃ dīpe 'in this island'.

[3] Lit. 'of the eldest yakkha.'

[4] The Ṭīkā calls the bride's father Mahākālasena, the bride Polamittā, the mother Goṇḍā. The names Kālasena and Polamittā occur also in the Kamb. Mah.

do thou destroy the yakkhas, for afterwards it will no longer be possible.'

He replied: 'How can I slay the yakkhas who are in-
36 visible?' 'Wheresoever they may be,' she said, 'I will utter cries, and where thou shalt hear that sound, strike! and by my magic power shall thy weapon fall upon their bodies.'

37 Since he listened to her and did even (as she said) he slew all the yakkhas, and when he had fought victoriously he
38 himself put on the garments of the yakkha-king and bestowed the other raiment on one and another of his followers.

When he had spent some days at that spot he went to
39 Tambapaṇṇi. There Vijaya founded the city of Tambapaṇṇi and dwelt there, together with the yakkhiṇī, surrounded by his ministers.

40 When those who were commanded by Vijaya landed from their ship, they sat down wearied, resting their hands upon the
41 ground—and since their hands were reddened by touching the dust of the red earth[1] that region and also the island were
42 (named) Tambapaṇṇi.[2] But the king Sīhabāhu, since he had slain the lion (was called) Sīhala and, by reason of the ties between him and them, all those (followers of Vijaya) were also (called) Sīhala.

43 Here and there did Vijaya's ministers found villages. Anurādhagāma was built by a man of that name near the
44 Kadamba river;[3] the chaplain Upatissa built Upatissagāma[4] on the bank of the Gambhīra river, to the north of Anu-
45 rādhagāma. Three other ministers built, each for himself, Ujjenī, Uruvelā, and the city of Vijita.[5]

[1] The soil of Ceylon is composed of laterit which crumbles into a red dust.

[2] A play on the word tambapāṇi, red hand.

[3] Now Malwaṭṭe-oya which flows by the ruins of Anurādhapura.

[4] This is probably to be sought on one of the right-bank tributaries of the lower Malwaṭṭe-oya. According to Mah. 28. 7 the Gambhīra-nadī flows 1 yojana (i. e. 7–8 miles) north of Anurādhapura.

[5] According to tradition the remains of the city of Vijita exist as those ruins which lie not far from the Kalu-wæwa (Kālavāpi) about 24 miles south of Anurādhapura in the jungle. TENNENT, *Ceylon*, ii, p. 602 foll. I think the tradition is right, although PARKER,

When they had founded settlements in the land the ministers 46 all came together and spoke thus to the prince: 'Sire, consent to be consecrated as king.' But, in spite of their demand, 47 the prince refused the consecration, unless a maiden of a noble house were consecrated as queen (at the same time).

But the ministers, whose minds were eagerly bent upon the 48 consecrating of their lord, and who, although the means were difficult, had overcome all anxious fears about the matter, 49 sent people, entrusted with many precious gifts, jewels, pearls, and so forth, to the city of Madhurā[1] in southern (India), to 50 woo the daughter of the Paṇḍu king for their lord, devoted (as they were) to their ruler; and they also (sent to woo) the daughters of others for the ministers and retainers.

When the messengers were quickly come by ship to the 51 city of Madhurā they laid the gifts and letter before the king. The king took counsel with his ministers, and since he was 52 minded to send his daughter (to Laṅkā) he, having first received also daughters of others for the ministers (of Vijaya), 53 nigh upon a hundred maidens, proclaimed with beat of drum: 'Those men here who are willing to let a daughter depart for Laṅkā shall provide their daughters with a double store of 54 clothing and place them at the doors of their houses. By this sign shall we (know that we may) take them to ourselves.'

When he had thus obtained many maidens and had given 55 compensation to their families, he sent his daughter, bedecked with all her ornaments, and all that was needful for the journey,[2] and all the maidens whom he had fitted out, accord- 56 ing to their rank, elephants withal and horses and waggons, worthy of a king, and craftsmen and a thousand families of 57 the eighteen guilds, entrusted with a letter to the conqueror Vijaya. All this multitude of men disembarked at 58

Ancient Ceylon, p. 237 foll., identifies Vijitapura with a suburb of Polannaruwa mentioned in the twelfth century A.D. As to the site of Uruvelā see 28. 36 and note.

[1] Now Madura, in the south of the Madras Presidency.

[2] The Ṭīkā explains saparicchadaṃ by paribhogabhaṇḍikaṃ samakuṭappāsādhanikaṃ vā. Cf. Skt. paricchada.

Mahātittha; for that very reason is that landing-place known as Mahātittha.[1]

59 Vijaya had one son and one daughter by the yakkhiṇī; when he now heard that the princess had arrived he said to 60 the yakkhiṇī: 'Go thou now, dear one, leaving the two children behind; men are ever in fear of superhuman beings.'

61 But when she heard this she was seized with fear of the yakkhas; then he said (again) to the yakkhiṇī: 'Delay not! I will bestow on thee an offering[2] by (spending) 62 a thousand (pieces of money).' When she had again and again besought him (in vain) she took her two children and departed for Laṅkāpura, though fearing that evil should come of it.

63 She set the children down outside and went, herself, into that city. When the yakkhas in the city recognized the 64 yakkhiṇī, in their terror they took her for a spy and there was great stir among them; but one who was violent killed the yakkhiṇī with a single blow of his fist.

65 But her uncle, on the mother's side, a yakkha, went forth from the city and when he saw the children he asked them: 66 'Whose children are you?' and hearing that they were Kuvaṇṇā's he said: 'Here has your mother been slain, and they will slay you also if they see you: (therefore) flee swiftly!'

67 Fleeing with speed they went from thence to the Sumanakūṭa.[3] The brother, the elder of the two, when he grew up 68 took his sister, the younger, for his wife, and multiplying with sons and daughters, they dwelt, with the king's leave, there in Malaya.[4] From these are sprung the Pulindā.[5]

[1] I. e. 'the great landing-place'; now Mantoṭa opposite the island Manaar.

[2] Since Kuvaṇṇā is a yakkhiṇī, she must receive like the devatās a bali or religious offering, oblation.

[3] I. e. Adam's Peak.

[4] The central mountain-region in the interior of Ceylon.

[5] Pulindā, a designation of barbarous tribes, is here evidently a name of the Wæddās. The tract of country inland between Colombo, Kalutara, Galle and the mountains is now called Sabaragamuwa from Skt. śabara; p. savara, a synonym of pulinda.

The envoys of the Paṇḍu king delivered up to the prince Vijaya the gifts and the (maidens) with the king's daughter at their head. When Vijaya had offered hospitality and bestowed honours on the envoys he bestowed the maidens, according to their rank, upon his ministers and retainers. According to custom the ministers in full assembly consecrated Vijaya king and appointed a great festival. 69 70 71

Then king Vijaya consecrated the daughter of the Paṇḍu king with solemn ceremony as his queen; he bestowed wealth on his ministers, and every year he sent to his wife's father a shell-pearl worth twice a hundred thousand (pieces of money). 72 73

When he had forsaken his former evil way of life, Vijaya, the lord of men, ruling over all Laṅkā in peace and righteousness reigned, as is known, in the city of Tambapaṇṇi, thirty-eight years. 74

Here ends the seventh chapter, called 'The Consecrating of Vijaya', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONSECRATING OF PAṆḌUVĀSUDEVA

1 THE great king Vijaya, being in the last year (of his life), bethought him: 'I am old and there lives no son of mine.
2 The kingdom peopled with (such great) difficulty may come to naught after my death; therefore would I fain have my brother Sumitta brought here (that I may give) the govern-
3 ment (into his hands).' When he had taken counsel with his ministers he sent a letter to him, and within a short time after Vijaya had sent the letter he passed away to the celestial world.

4 When he was dead the ministers ruled, dwelling in Upatissa-
5 gāma while they awaited the coming of the prince. After the death of king Vijaya and before the coming of the prince was our island of Laṅkā kingless for a year.

6 In Sīhapura, after the death of king Sīhabāhu, his son
7 Sumitta was king; he had three sons by the daughter of the Madda [1] king. The messengers coming to Sīhapura handed
8 the letter to the king. When he had heard the letter the king spoke thus to his three sons: 'I am old, dear ones; one
9 of you must depart for the greatly favoured and beauteous Laṅkā belonging to my brother, and there, after his death, assume (the sovereignty of) that fair kingdom.'

10 The king's youngest son, the prince Paṇḍuvāsudeva, thought: 'I will go thither.' And when he had assured himself
11 of the success of his journey [2] and empowered by his father, he took with him thirty-two sons of ministers and embarked
12 (with them) in the disguise of mendicant monks. They landed

[1] Madda = Skt. Madra, now Madras.

[2] Ñatvā sotthiṃ gatimhi ca (by asking the soothsayers). Ṭīkā: nemittikavacaneneva jānitvā 'knowing from the word of the soothsayers'.

at the mouth of the Mahākandara[1] river; when the people saw these mendicant monks they received them with due respect.

When they had inquired about the capital, they arrived 13 gradually approaching (the city), at Upatissagāma, protected by the devatās. Now a minister there, charged by the 14 (other) ministers, had questioned a soothsayer concerning the coming of the prince, and he had furthermore[2] foretold him: 'Just on the seventh day will the prince come and one who 15 shall spring of his house shall establish (here) the religion of the Buddha.' Now when the ministers saw the mendicant monks 16 arrive there, just on the seventh day, and inquiring into the matter recognized them, they entrusted Paṇḍuvāsudeva with 17 the sovereignty of Laṅkā; but since he lacked a consort he did not yet receive the solemn consecration.

A son of the Sakka Amitodana was the Sakka Paṇḍu. 18 Since he heard that the Sakyas would (shortly) be destroyed[3] he took his followers with him and went to another tract of 19 land on the further side of the Ganges and founded a city there and ruled there as king. He had seven sons.

His youngest daughter was called Bhaddakaccānā. She 20 was (even as) a woman made of gold,[4] fair of form and eagerly wooed. For (love of) her did seven kings send precious gifts 21 to the king (Paṇḍu), but for fear of the kings, and since he was told (by soothsayers) that an auspicious journey would 22

[1] Not identified. Probably one of the rivers falling into the sea north of Manaar.

[2] That is, besides the fact of Paṇḍuvāsudeva's coming he had foretold the details that follow.

[3] The Sakyas were annihilated in war by the Kosala king Viḍūḍabha, shortly before the death of the Buddha; see RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, p. 11. This catastrophe is foretold to Paṇḍu by soothsayers. Ṭīkā: Viḍūḍhabhayuddhato puretaraṃ eva nemittikavacaneneva Sakyānaṃ bhavitabbaṃ vināsaṃ jānitvā ti attho 'Since he knew, even before the war with Viḍūḍabha, by the word of the soothsayers the future destruction of the Sakyas'.

[4] The golden colour of the skin always, in Sinhalese poems, counts for a mark of particular beauty. Kusajāt. 172: ran-ruwak karageṇa. As a designation of beautiful women ran-liya 'golden creeper' is employed at Sælalihiṇisandesa 55; Kusajāt. 557.

come to pass, nay, one with the result of royal consecration, he placed his daughter speedily upon a ship, together with
23 thirty-two women-friends, and launched the ship upon the Ganges, saying: 'Whosoever can, let him take my daughter.' And they could not overtake her, but the ship fared swiftly thence.

24 Already on the second day they reached the haven called
25 Goṇagāmaka [1] and there they landed robed like nuns. When they had inquired about the capital, they arrived gradually approaching (the city), at Upatissagāma, protected by the devatās.[2]

26 One of the ministers who had heard the saying of a soothsayer, saw the women come, and inquiring into the
27 matter recognized them and brought them to the king. So his ministers, full of pious understanding, consecrated as their king PAṆḌUVĀSUDEVA, whose every wish was fulfilled.

28 When he had consecrated Subhaddakaccānā, of noble stature, as his own queen, and had given those (maidens) who had arrived with her to the followers who had come with him, the monarch lived happily.

Here ends the eighth chapter, called 'The Consecrating of Paṇḍuvāsudeva', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] At the mouth of the Mahākandara-nadī. Cf. 8. 12.

[2] The wording is exactly like v. 13, in order to lay stress on the parallel in the proceedings. In the same way v. 26 is based on vv. 14 and 16.

CHAPTER IX

THE CONSECRATING OF ABHAYA

THE queen bore ten sons and one daughter the eldest of all was named Abhaya, the youngest (child, the) daughter was named Cittā. When the brahmans skilled in sacred texts saw her they foretold: 'For the sake of sovereignty will her son slay his uncles.' When the brothers resolved: 'let us kill our young sister,' Abhaya restrained them. 1 2 3

In due time they lodged her in a chamber having but one pillar, and the entry thereto they made through the king's sleeping-chamber; and within they placed a serving-woman, and a hundred soldiers without. But since she (Cittā) drove men mad by the mere sight of her beauty, the name given to her was lengthened by an epithet 'Ummādacittā'.[1] 4 5

When they heard of the coming of the princess Bhaddakaccānā to Laṅkā her brothers also,[2] except one, urged by their mother, departed thither. 6

When on arriving they had visited the ruler of Laṅkā, Paṇḍuvāsudeva and their youngest sister too and had lamented with her,[3] they, hospitably received by the king and having the king's leave, went about the island of Laṅkā and took up their abode wheresoever it pleased them.[4] 7 8

The place where Rāma settled is called Rāmagoṇa, the settlements of Uruvela and Anurādha (are called) by their names, and the settlements of Vijita, Dīghāyu, and Rohaṇa are named Vijitagāma, Dīghāyu, and Rohaṇa.[5] Anurādha 9 10 11

[1] The allusion is to ummādeti 'makes mad'.

[2] Puttā, literally: 'the sons,' that is, of the Sakya Paṇḍu.

[3] Probably over the fate of Ummādacittā.

[4] Carimsu belongs to cārikaṃ and nivāsaṃ both.

[5] Cf. 7. 43 foll. where the names Anurādha, Uruvela, and Vijita also appear. Evidently we have to do with a different tradition as to the foundation of the same cities.

built a tank and when he had built a palace to the south of
12 this, he took up his abode there. Afterwards the great king Paṇḍuvāsudeva consecrated his eldest son Abhaya as vice-regent.

13 When the son of prince Dīghāyu, Dīghagāmaṇi, heard of
14 Ummādacittā he went, driven by longing for her, to Upatissagāma, and there sought out the ruler of the land. And this (latter) appointed him together with the vice-regent, to service at the royal court.

15 Now (once) Cittā saw Gāmaṇi in the place where he stood opposite her window, and, her heart on fire with love, she
16 asked her serving-woman: 'Who is that?' When she heard: 'He is the son of thy uncle,' she trusted the matter to her
17 attendant and he, being in league with her, fastened a hook-ladder to the window in the night,[1] climbed up, broke the window and so came in.

18 So he had intercourse with her and did not go forth till break of day. And he returned there constantly, nor was he discovered, for there was no entry (to the chamber).

19 And she became with child by him, and when the fruit of her womb was ripe the serving-woman told her mother, and
20 the mother, having questioned her daughter, told the king. The king took counsel with his sons and said: 'He too[2] must be received among us; let us give her (in marriage) to him.'
21 And saying: 'If it is a son we will slay him'; they gave her to him.

But she, when the time of her delivery was come near,
22 went to the lying-in-chamber. And thinking: 'These were accomplices in the matter,' the princes, from fear, did to death
23 the herdsman Cittā and the slave Kāḷavela, attendants on Gāmaṇi, since they would make no promise.[3] They were

[1] Gavakkhamhi ḍasāpetvā rattiṃ kakkaṭayantakaṃ, lit. 'making a crab-machine to bite on to the window'. For explanation of this passage see Mah. ed., Introd., p. xxvi.

[2] So pi, namely, Dīghagāmaṇi.

[3] Patiññaṃ adente, that is, they would not fall in with the design of the brothers to kill the boy who might perhaps come into the world. Cf. Mah. ed., Introd., p. xvi.

reborn as yakkhas and both kept guard over the child in the mother's womb. And Cittā made her attendant find another 24 woman who was near her delivery. And Cittā bore a son but this woman bore a daughter. Cittā caused a thousand (pieces 25 of money) to be handed over to (the other) together with her own son, and the latter's daughter to be then brought to her and laid beside her. When the king's sons heard 'a daughter 26 is born', they were well pleased; but the two, mother and grandmother, joining the names of the grandfather and the 27 eldest uncle gave the boy the name Paṇḍukābhaya.

The ruler of Laṅkā, Paṇḍuvāsudeva, reigned thirty years. 28 When Paṇḍukābhaya was born, he died.

When the ruler was dead, the king's sons all assembled 29 together and held the great festival of consecration of their brother, the safety-giving ABHAYA.[1]

Here ends the ninth chapter, called 'The Consecrating of Abhaya', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] A play on the word abhaya 'the fearless', and abhayada 'bestowing fearlessness, freedom from danger, or security'.

CHAPTER X

THE CONSECRATING OF PAṆḌUKĀBHAYA

1 (As) commanded by Ummādacittā the serving-woman took the boy, laid him in a basket and went with him to Dvāra-maṇḍalaka.[1]

2 When the princes, who had gone a-hunting in the Tumbara forest saw the serving-woman they asked her: 'Where art 3 thou going? What is that?' She answered: 'I am going to Dvāramaṇḍalaka; that is a sweet cake for my daughter.' 4 The princes said to her: 'Take it out.' Then Citta and Kāḷavela who had come forth to protect (the boy) caused a 5 great boar to appear at that moment. The princes pursued him; but she took (the boy) and went thither and gave the boy and a thousand (pieces of money) secretly to a certain 6 man who was entrusted (with the matter). On that very day his wife bore a son, and he, declaring: 'My wife has borne twin sons,' reared that boy (with his own).

7 The (boy) was already seven years old when his uncles found out (where he was) and charged followers of theirs to kill (with 8 him) the boys playing in a certain pond. Now the boy was used to hide, by diving, in a certain hollow tree standing in the water and having the mouth of the hollow hidden under 9 water, entering by the hollow, and when he had stayed long within he would come forth in the same way, and being again among the other boys, however much they questioned him, he would mislead them with evasive words.

10 On the day the (princes') people came[2] the boy with his clothes on dived into the water and stayed hidden in 11 the hollow tree. When those men had counted the clothes and

[1] According to Mah. 23. 23 the village is situated near the Cetiya-mountain (Mihintale), east of Anurādhapura.

[2] See Mah. ed., Introd., p. liii.

killed the other boys they went away and declared: 'The boys have all been killed!' When they were gone that (boy) went 12 to his foster-father's[1] house, and comforted by him he lived on there to the age of twelve years.

When his uncles again heard that the boy was alive they 13 charged (their followers) to kill all the herdsmen. Just on 14 that day the herdsmen had taken a deer and sent the boy into the village to bring fire. He went home, but sent his foster- 15 father's son out saying: 'I am footsore, take thou fire for the herdsmen; then thou too wilt have some of the roast to eat.' 16 Hearing those words he took fire to the herdsmen: and at 17 that moment those (men) despatched to do it surrounded the herdsmen and killed them all, and when they had killed them they (went and) told (the boy's) uncles.

Then, when he was sixteen years old, his uncles discovered 18 him; his mother sent him a thousand (pieces of money) and a command to bring him to (a place of) safety.[2] His foster- 19 father told him all his mother's message, and giving him a slave and the thousand (pieces of money) he sent him to Paṇḍula. The brahman named Paṇḍula, a rich man and learned 20 in the vedas, dwelt in the southern district in (the village) Paṇḍulagāmaka. The prince went thither and sought out the 21 brahman Paṇḍula. When this latter had asked him: 'Art thou Paṇḍukābhaya, my dear?' and was answered 'Yes', he 22 paid him honour (as a guest) and said: 'Thou wilt be king, and full seventy years wilt thou rule; learn the art,[3] my dear!' 23 and he instructed him, and by his son Canda[4] also that art was mastered in a short time.

He gave him a hundred thousand (pieces of money) to enrol 24 soldiers and when five hundred men had been enrolled by him (he said): 'The (woman) at whose touch leaves turn to gold 25

[1] Āyutta or āyuttaka 'the man entrusted (with the bringing-up)'.

[2] Tassa rakkhaṃ cādisi, lit. 'and disposed (or commanded) his protection'.

[3] Sippaṃ uggaṇha, in this case 'the art' is the knowledge needed by a reigning prince.

[4] Candena cassa puttena belongs, according to the Ṭīkā, to sippaṃ samāpitaṃ.

26 make thou thy queen, and my son Canda thy chaplain.' When he had thus said and given him money he sent him forth from thence with his soldiers. Proclaiming his name he, the 27 virtuous prince, fared forth and when in the city of Paṇa near the Kāsa-mountain[1] he had gathered together seven hundred 28 followers and provision for all, he went thence, followed by one thousand two hundred men to the mountain called Girikaṇḍa.

29 An uncle of Paṇḍukābhaya, named Girikaṇḍasiva, drew his revenues from this district that Paṇḍuvāsudeva had handed 30 over to him. This prince was even then on the point of reaping (a field) measuring a hundred karīsas; his daughter was 31 the beautiful princess named Pālī. And she, with a great retinue, had mounted her splendid waggon, and came bring-32 ing food for her father and for the reapers. The prince's men, who saw the princess there, told the prince (about 33 her); the prince coming thither in haste and dividing her followers into two bands, drove his own waggon, followed by his men, near her and asked: 'Where art thou going?' 34 And when she had told him all the prince, whose heart was fired with love, asked for a share of the food.

35 She stepped down from the waggon and, at the foot of a banyan-tree, she offered the prince food in a golden bowl. 36 Then she took banyan-leaves to entertain the rest of the people (with food) and in an instant the leaves were changed into 37 golden vessels. When the prince saw this and remembered the brahman's words he was glad (thinking): 'I have found the 38 maiden who is worthy to be made queen.' So she entertained them all, but yet the food became not less; it seemed that but 39 one man's portion had been taken away. Thus from that time onward that youthful princess who was so rich in virtues and merit was called by the name Suvaṇṇapālī.

40 And the prince took the maiden and mounted his waggon and fared onward, fearless and surrounded by a mighty army.

[1] Probably near the modern Kahagalagama 'village of the Kaha mountain', about 18 miles SE. from Anurādhapura, and 10 miles WNW. from the mountain Riṭigala. See also 25. 50, and the Appendix C on Paṇḍukābhaya's campaigns.

When her father heard this he despatched all his soldiers, and 41 they came and gave battle and returned, defeated by the 42 others; at that place (afterwards) a village was built called Kalahanagara.[1] When her five brothers heard this they (also) departed to make war. And all those did Canda the son of 43 Paṇḍula slay; Lohitavāhakhaṇḍa[2] was their battle-field.

With a great host Paṇḍukābhaya marched from thence to 44 the further shore of the Gaṅgā[3] toward the Doḷa-mountain. Here he sojourned four years. When his uncles heard that he 45 was there they marched thither, leaving the king behind, to do battle with him. When they had made a fortified camp 46 near the Dhūmarakkha-mountain they fought a battle with their nephew. But the nephew pursued the uncles to this side 47 of the river, and having defeated them in flight he held their fortified camp for two years.

And they went to Upatissagāma and told all this to the 48 king. And the king sent the prince a letter together with a thousand (pieces of money) saying: 'Keep thou possession of 49 the land on the further shore, but come not over to this shore.' When the nine brothers heard of this they were wroth with the king and said: 'Long hast thou been, in truth, a helper 50 to him! Now dost thou give him the kingdom. For that we will put thee to death.' He yielded up the government to 51 them, and with one accord they appointed their brother named Tissa to be regent.

This safety-giving Abhaya[4] had reigned as king in Upatis- 52 sagāma twenty years.

Now a yakkhiṇī named Cetiyā, who dwelt on the Dhūma- 53

[1] I. e. Battle-town. A Kalahagala lies to the south of Mineri-Tank (Maṇihīra), not far from the left bank of the Ambanganga, which flows into the Mahawæliganga lower down. *Census of Ceylon*, 1901, iv. pp. 468-469.

[2] Lit. perhaps 'Field of the stream of blood'.

[3] I. e. Mahāgaṅgī, now Mahawæliganga. Pāragaṅgā means, from the standpoint of the narrator (at Anurādhapura), the right, oragaṅgā 'this side', the left bank of the Mahawæliganga. As to the Doḷapabbata (now Dolagal-wela), see Appendix C.

[4] See note to 9. 29.

rakkha-mountain [1] near the pond (called) Tumbariyaṅgaṇa, used to wander about in the form of a mare.

54 And once a certain man saw this beautiful (mare) with her white body and red feet and told the prince: 'Here is a mare whose appearance is thus and so—'

55 The prince took a noose and came to capture her. When she saw him coming up behind her she fled for fear of his majestic 56 aspect. She fled without rendering herself invisible and he pursued her swiftly as she fled. Seven times in her flight she 57 circled round the pond, and plunging into the Mahāgaṅgā and climbing forth again to the shore she fled seven times around 58 the Dhūmarakkha-mountain; and yet three times more she circled round the pond and plunged yet again in the Gaṅgā 59 near the Kacchaka-ford,[2] but there he seized her by the mane and (grasped) a palm-leaf that was floating down the stream; 60 by the effect of his merit this turned into a great sword. He thrust at her with the sword, crying: 'I will slay thee.' And she said to him: 'I will conquer the kingdom and give it to 61 thee, lord! Slay me not!' Then he seized her by the neck and boring her nostrils with the point of his sword he secured her thus with a rope; but she followed wheresoever he would.

62 When the mighty (hero) had gone to the Dhūmarakkha-mountain, bestriding the mare, he dwelt there on the Dhūma-63 rakkha-mountain four years. And having marched thence with his force and come to the Ariṭṭha-mountain [3] he sojourned there seven years awaiting a fit time to make war.

64 Eight of his uncles, leaving two behind,[4] drew near to the 65 Ariṭṭha-mountain in battle array, and when they had laid out a fortified camp near a small city and had placed a commander at the head they surrounded the Ariṭṭha-mountain on every side.

[1] According to v. 62 foll. not far from the Kacchakatittha (see note to v. 58), on the left bank of the Mahawæliganga. The Dhūmarakkhapabbata is also mentioned, Mah. 37. 203 (= 163 of the Colombo edition ii).

[2] Cf. 23. 17 and 25. 12. Now Mahagantoṭa, a ford below the place where Ambanganga and Mahawæliganga join. See note to 35. 58.

[3] Now Riṭigala, North-Central Province, north of Habarana.

[4] Namely, Abhaya and Girikaṇḍasiva.

After speech with the yakkhiṇī, the prince, according to 66 her cunning counsel, sent in advance a company of his soldiers taking with them kingly apparel and weapons as presents and the message: 'Take all this; I will make peace with you.' 67 But as they were lulled to security thinking: 'We will take 68 him prisoner if he comes,' he mounted the yakkha-mare and went forth to battle at the head of a great host. The 69 yakkhiṇī neighed full loudly and his army, inside and outside (the camp) [1] raised a mighty battle-cry. The prince's men 70 killed all the soldiers of the enemy's army and the eight uncles with them, and they raised a pyramid of skulls. The 71 commander escaped and fled (for safety) to a thicket; that (same thicket) is therefore called Senāpatigumbaka. When 72 the prince saw the pyramid of skulls, where the skulls of his uncles lay uppermost, he said: ''Tis like a heap of gourds'; and therefore they named (the place) Lābugāmaka.[2]

When he was thus left victor in battle, Paṇḍukābhaya 73 went thence to the dwelling-place of his great-uncle Anurādha. The great-uncle handed over his palace to him and built 74 himself a dwelling elsewhere; but he dwelt in his house. When he had inquired of a soothsayer who was versed in the 75 knowledge of (fitting) sites, he founded the capital, even near that village. Since it had served as dwelling to two Anurādhas, 76 it was called Anurādhapura, and also because it was founded under the constellation Anurādha. When he had caused the 77 (state) parasol of his uncles to be brought and purified in a natural pond that is here,[3] PAṆḌUKĀBHAYA kept it for himself and with the water of that same pond he solemnized 78 his own consecration; and Suvaṇṇapālī, his spouse, he consecrated queen. On the young Canda, even as he had agreed, 79

[1] I. e. the soldiers he had sent in advance into the enemy's camp and the army approaching now with him.

[2] I. e. 'Village of Gourds.' Even now we find on the map, to the north-west of the Riṭigala, a place called Labunoruwa = p. lābunagaraka. Cf. *Return of Architectural and Archaeological Remains ... existing in Ceylon*, 1890, p. 76; *Census of Ceylon*, 1901, vol. iv, p. 464.

[3] Idha, i. e. in Anurādhapura, the residence of the chronicler.

he conferred the office of his chaplain and other appointments on his other followers according to their merits.

80 Because his mother and he himself had been befriended by him, he did not slay the king Abhaya, his eldest uncle, but 81 handed over the government to him for the night-time: he became the 'Nagaraguttika' (Guardian of the City). From that 82 time onward there were nagaraguttikas in the capital. His father-in-law also, Girikaṇḍasiva, he did not slay but handed 83 over to this uncle the district of Girikaṇḍa. He had the pond[1] deepened and abundantly filled with water, and since he had taken water therefrom, when victorious (for his consecration), they called it Jayavāpi.[2]

84 He settled the yakkha Kāḷavela on the east side of the city, the yakkha Cittarāja at the lower end of the Abhaya-85 tank.[3] The slave-woman who had helped him in time past and was re-born of a yakkhiṇī, the thankful (king) settled at 86 the south gate of the City. Within the royal precincts he housed the yakkhiṇī in the form of a mare. Year by year he 87 had sacrificial offerings made to them and to other (yakkhas); but on festival-days he sat with Cittarāja beside him on a seat of equal height, and having gods and men to dance before 88 him, the king took his pleasure, in joyous and merry wise.

He laid out also four suburbs as well as the Abhaya-tank, 89 the common cemetery, the place of execution, and the chapel of the Queens of the West, the banyan-tree of Vessavaṇa[4] and 90 the Palmyra-palm of the Demon of Maladies,[5] the ground set apart for the Yonas and the house of the Great Sacrifice; all these he laid out near the west gate.[6]

[1] I. e. the pond in Anurādhapura, mentioned in v. 77. Since the old name has been changed, it is impossible to identify the Jayavāpi.

[2] I e. the tank of victory.

[3] See v. 88. The Abhaya-vāpi which was laid out by the king Paṇḍukābhaya himself, is the tank now called Basawak-kulam. PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 360 foll.

[4] I. e. of Kubera, god of wealth (Skt. Vaiśravaṇa), who perhaps is here considered as a chthonian god.

[5] Or the God of the Huntsmen, according to the reading vyādhadevassa.

[6] On the various buildings and foundations mentioned in 89 and 90,

He set five hundred caṇḍālas to the work of cleaning the 91 (streets of the) town, two hundred caṇḍālas to the work of cleaning the sewers, one hundred and fifty caṇḍālas he em- 92 ployed to bear the dead and as many caṇḍālas to be watchers in the cemetery. For these he built a village north-west 93 of the cemetery and they continually carried out their duty as it was appointed.

Toward the north-east of the caṇḍāla-village he made the 94 cemetery, called the Lower Cemetery, for the caṇḍāla folk. North of this cemetery, between (it and) the Pāsāṇa-mountain, 95 the line of huts for the huntsmen were built thenceforth. Northward from thence, as far as the Gāmaṇi-tank,[1] a her- 96 mitage was made for many ascetics; eastward of that same 97 cemetery the ruler built a house for the nigaṇṭha[2] Jotiya. In that same region dwelt the nigaṇṭha named Giri and 98 many ascetics of various heretical sects. And there the lord 99 of the land built also a chapel for the nigaṇṭha Kumbhaṇḍa; it was named after him. Toward the west from thence and 100 eastward of the street of the huntsmen lived five hundred families of heretical beliefs. On the further side of Jotiya's 101 house and on this side of the Gāmaṇi-tank he likewise built a monastery for wandering mendicant monks, and a dwelling 102 for the ājīvakas and a residence for the brahmans, and in this place and that he built a lying-in shelter and a hall[3] for those recovering from sickness.

Ten years after his consecration did Paṇḍukābhaya the 103 ruler of Laṅkā establish the village-boundaries over the whole of the island of Laṅkā. With Kāḷavela and Cittarāja, 104

see Mah. ed., Introd., p. liv. Since the Ṭīkā leaves us in the lurch it will be difficult to add anything further.

[1] The Gāmaṇivāpi is perhaps the Karambäwa-tank which lies somewhat more than a mile north from the Bulan-kulam. PARKER, however, identifies it with the Peramiyan-kulam. *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 364.

[2] Name of a sect of ascetics (the Jaina) who went about naked.

[3] According to the Ṭīkā we have to take sivikā-sotthisālaṃ as sivikāsālaṃ ca sotthisālaṃ ca. The former word is explained by vijāyanaghara 'house of delivery', the latter by gilānasālā 'hall for the sick'.

who were visible (in bodily form) the prince enjoyed his good
105 fortune, he who had yakkhas and bhūtas [1] for friends. Between the king Paṇḍukābhaya and Abhaya were seventeen years without a king.

106 When the ruler of the earth, Paṇḍukābhaya, the intelligent, being thirty-seven years old, had assumed the rule over the kingdom, he reigned full seventy years in fair and wealthy [2] Anurādhapura.

Here ends the tenth chapter, called 'The Consecrating of Paṇḍukābhaya' in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] That is, ghosts; but the expression is ambiguous. It could also mean 'he who had those that had become yakkhas (namely Kāḷavela and Citta) for friends'.

[2] Ṭīkā: samiddhe ti, sampattiyā pūrite aḍḍhe vā 'filled with prosperity or wealthy'.

CHAPTER XI

THE CONSECRATING OF DEVĀNAṂPIYATISSA

AFTER his death his son, known by the name of MUṬASIVA, 1 the son of Suvaṇṇapālī, succeeded him in the government, which was (then) in a peaceful state. The king laid out the 2 beautiful Mahāmeghavana-garden, rich in all the good qualities that its name promises[1] and provided with fruit-trees and flowering-trees. At the time that the place was 3 chosen for the garden, a great cloud, gathering at an unwonted season, poured forth rain; therefore they called the garden Mahāmeghavana.

Sixty years king Muṭasiva reigned in splendid Anurādha- 4 pura, the fair face of the land of Laṅkā. He had ten sons, 5 each thoughtful of the other's welfare, and two daughters equal[2] (in beauty), worthy of their family. The second son, 6 known by the name Devānaṃpiyatissa, was foremost among all his brothers in virtue and intelligence.

This DEVĀNAṂPIYATISSA became king after his father's 7 death. Even at the time of his consecration many wonders came to pass. In the whole isle of Laṅkā treasures and 8

[1] Following the reading of the Burmese MSS. and the Ṭīkā nāmānugaguṇodito 'eminent in the qualities corresponding to the name'. Mahāmeghavana means 'grove of the great cloud'. The qualities which it possesses are such as accompany abundant rainfall: streams, trees with thick foliage, shade, coolness and so forth. Cf. the explanation of the Ṭīkā, Mah. ed., note on this passage. The Mahāmeghavana was situated south of the city of Anurādhapura, where now the Mahāvihāra stands. Between it and the southern wall of the city was another park, called Nandana or Jotivana. See 15. 1, 8; PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 272–274.

[2] Ṭīkā: anukūlā ti, samānavaṇṇā; ayaṃ surūpā ayaṃ virūpā ti vacanapacchindituṃ anarahā samānarūpā; aññamañña-anukūlarūpasampattiyā samannāgatā ti adhippāyo. The sense is: they were of equal beauty.

jewels that had been buried deep rose up to the surface of the
9 earth. Jewels which had been in ships wrecked near Laṅkā and
those which were naturally formed there (in the ocean) issued
10 forth upon the land. At the foot of the Chāta-mountain
there grew up three bamboo-stems, in girth even as a waggon-
11 pole.[1] One of them, 'the creeper-stem,' shone like silver; on
this might be seen delightful creepers gleaming with a golden
12 colour. But one was the 'flower-stem', on this again might
be seen flowers of many kinds, of manifold colours, in full
13 bloom. And last, one was the 'bird-stem' whereon might be
seen numbers of birds and beasts of many (kinds) and of
14 many colours, as if living. Pearls of the eight kinds, namely
horse-pearl, elephant-pearl, waggon-pearl, myrobalan-pearl,
bracelet-pearl, ring-pearl, kakudha fruit-pearl, and common
15 (pearls) came forth out of the ocean and lay upon the shore
in heaps.

16 All this was the effect of Devānampiyatissa's merit. Sapphire, beryl, ruby, these gems and many jewels and those
17 pearls and those bamboo-stems they brought, all in the same
week, to the king.

When the king saw them he was glad at heart and thought:
18 'My friend Dhammāsoka and nobody else is worthy to have
these priceless treasures; I will send them to him as a gift.'
19 For the two monarchs, Devānampiyatissa and Dhammāsoka
already had been friends a long time, though they had never
seen each other.

20 The king sent four persons appointed as his envoys: his
nephew Mahāriṭṭha, who was the chief of his ministers, then
21 his chaplain, a minister and his treasurer,[2] attended by a body
of retainers, and he bade them take with them those priceless
22 jewels, the three kinds of precious stones, and the three stems
(like) waggon-poles, and a spiral shell winding to the right, and

[1] This must be the meaning of rathapatoda, although patoda properly means 'goad, whip'.

[2] The Ṭīkā also tells us the names of Ariṭṭha's three companions, namely Tālipabbata (in Kamb. Mah. Hāli°), Tela and Tissa. These names are, we may conjecture, taken from the original source of the Mah., the old Aṭṭhakathā.

the eight kinds of pearls. When they had embarked at Jambukola[1] and in seven days had reached the haven[2] in safety, and from thence in seven days more had come to Pāṭaliputta, they gave those gifts into the hands of king Dhammāsoka. When he saw them he rejoiced greatly. Thinking: 'Here I have no such precious things,' the monarch, in his joy, bestowed on Ariṭṭha the rank of a commander in his army, on the brahman the dignity of chaplain, to the minister he gave the rank of staff-bearer, and to the treasurer that of a guild-lord.[3] 23 24 25 26

When he had allotted to the (envoys) abundance of (all) things for their entertainment and dwelling-houses, he took counsel with his ministers considering (what should be sent as) a return-gift; and he took[4] a fan,[5] a diadem, a sword, a parasol, shoes, a turban, ear-ornaments,[6] chains,[7] a pitcher, yellow sandalwood, a set of garments that had no need of cleansing, a costly napkin, unguent brought by the nāgas, red-coloured earth, water from the lake Anotatta and also water from the Ganges, a (spiral) shell winding in 27 28 29 30

[1] A landing-place in northern Ceylon. See chiefly 19. 25.

[2] The haven of Tāmalittī. See note to 11. 38.

[3] Very characteristic, and throwing light on court-life in India, chiefly in the fifth century A.D. The complimentary bestowing of titles and dignities was then the custom, just as at the present day.

[4] The accusatives in the text are all dependent on v. 33. From this point the things enumerated are merely either the insignia of a royal prince or such as are used for the ceremony of consecrating a king.

[5] Vālavījanī is a fly-whisk (Skt. cāmara) made of the hair of a yak's tail.

[6] The Ṭīkā explains vataṃsa (Skt. avataṃsa) by kaṇṇapilandhana. See *Vinaya Texts*, ii, p. 347, note on C.V. I. 13. 1. In Thūpav., p. 17[23] pupphavataṃsaka is rendered in Sinhalese malkaḍa.

[7] That pāmaṅga must be a band or chain is clear from the simile in Thūpav. 3[17–19]. The Buddha Dīpaṃkara winds the girdle round his red garment as one might wind a golden pāmaṅga about a bunch of flowers. The same simile occurs Mahābodhiv., ed. STRONG, p. 62[10]; cf. also C.V. 5. 2. 1; Sum. Vil. I. 80[12] on D. 1. 1. 10. (To be read thus, Mah. ed., p. 355, line 29.)

31 auspicious wise,[1] a maiden in the flower of her youth, utensils as golden platters, a costly litter, yellow and emblic myro-
32 balans and precious ambrosial healing herbs, sixty times one hundred waggon loads of mountain-rice brought thither by parrots, nay, all that was needful for consecrating a king,
33 marvellous in splendour; and sending these (things) in due time as a gift to his friend the lord of men sent envoys also
34 with the gift of the true doctrine, saying: 'I have taken refuge in the Buddha, his Doctrine and his Order, I have declared myself a lay-disciple in the religion of the Sakya son;[2]
35 seek then even thou, O best of men converting thy mind with
36 believing heart refuge in these best of gems!' and saying moreover: 'Consecrate my friend yet again as king,' he dismissed his friend's ministers, with many marks of honour.

37 When the ministers had stayed five months, highly honoured they set forth with the envoys, on the first day of the bright
38 half of the month Vesākha.[3] Having embarked at Tāmalittī[4] and landed at Jambukola they sought out the king, when
39 they arrived here on the twelfth day. The envoys handed the gifts to the ruler of Laṅkā; the ruler of Laṅkā made them welcome with great hospitality.

40 But the envoys most faithful to their king consecrated the ruler of Laṅkā, whose (first) consecration had been held in the month Maggasira[5] on the day when the moon first shows
41 itself, fulfilling the charge of Dhammāsoka, yet again as king, they rejoicing in the salvation of their king (consecrated) him who rejoiced in the good fortune of Laṅkā.

[1] Winding towards the right, dakkhiṇāvaṭṭo; cf. v. 22.

[2] I. e. of Buddha, sprung from the tribe of the Sakyas. See 2. 15 foll.

[3] See note to 1. 12.

[4] Skt. Tāmraliptī, a harbour in the region at the mouth of the Ganges, now Tamluk. At Tāmraliptī the Chinese pilgrim Fā-hien embarked for Ceylon in the beginning of the fifth century A. D. See LEGGE, *Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, p. 100.

[5] According to the Dīp. 11. 14 and 38, the first coronation of D. was held in the second winter month under the Nakkhatta Āsāḷha, and the second coronation on the twelfth day of the bright half of the Vesākha month. Cf. Introduction, para. 7.

Thus on the full-moon day of the month Vesākha the ruler 42 of men, in whose name was contained the words 'friend of the gods',[1] bestowing good upon his people, held his consecration (as king) in Laṅkā, where in every place they held high festival.

Here ends the eleventh chapter, called 'The Consecrating of Devānampiyatissa' in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] Devānampiyatissa means 'Tissa, friend of the gods'.

CHAPTER XII

THE CONVERTING OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

1 WHEN the thera Moggaliputta, the illuminator of the religion of the Conqueror, had brought the (third) council to an 2 end and when, looking into the future, he had beheld the founding of the religion in adjacent countries, (then) in the 3 month Kattika[1] he sent forth theras, one here and one there. The thera Majjhantika he sent to Kasmīra and Gandhāra, the 4 thera Mahādeva he sent to Mahisamaṇḍala. To Vanavāsa he sent the thera named Rakkhita, and to Aparantaka the Yona 5 named Dhammarakkhita; to Mahāraṭṭha (he sent) the thera named Mahādhammarakkhita, but the thera Mahārakkhita he 6 sent into the country of the Yona. He sent the thera Majjhima to the Himalaya country, and to Suvaṇṇabhūmi he sent the 7 two theras Soṇa and Uttara. The great thera Mahinda, the theras Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasāla his dis-8 ciples, these five theras he sent forth with the charge: 'Ye shall found in the lovely island of Laṅkā the lovely religion of the Conqueror.'

9 At that time in Kasmīra and Gandhāra[2] did the nāga-king of wondrous power, Aravāḷa, cause the rain called 'Hail' to 10 pour down upon the ripe crops, and cruelly did he overwhelm everything with a flood. The thera Majjhantika went thither 11 with all speed, passing through the air, and wrought (miracles such as) walking on the surface of the water in Aravāḷa's lake and so forth. When the nāgas beheld it they told their king with fury about this thing.

12 Then full of fury the nāga-king brought divers terrors to

[1] See note to 1. 12. As to the time of the third council, cf. the Introduction.

[2] Gandhāra comprises the districts of Peshāwar and Rāwal Piṇḍī in the northern Punjab. Kasmīra is the modern Kashmīr.

pass; fierce winds blew, a cloud gave forth thunder and rain, thunder strokes crashed, and lightning flashed here and there, 13 trees and mountain-tops were hurled down. Nāgas in grisly 14 forms terrified (beholders) on every side, he himself spat forth smoke and fire threatening in different ways.

When the thera by his wondrous power had brought all 15 these terrors to naught, he said to the nāga-king, showing his eminent might: 'Even if the world together with the gods 16 came seeking to terrify me, they would not be equal to me (in strength) whatever fears and dread (they may arouse) in this place.[1] Nay, if thou shouldst raise the whole earth with the 17 ocean and the mountains, thou mighty nāga, and shouldst hurl them upon me, thou couldst in no wise arouse fear and 18 dread in me. It were surely but thy own destruction, thou lord of serpents.'

Then to him, humbled by these words the thera preached 19 the doctrine, and thereupon the nāga-king came unto the (three) refuges and the precepts of duty,[2] and this likewise 20 did eighty-four thousand serpents and many gandhabbas, yakkhas and kumbhaṇḍakas[3] in the Himalaya. But a yak- 21 kha named Paṇḍaka with (his wife) the yakkhinī Hāritā and his five hundred sons obtained the first fruit (of sanctification).[4]

'Henceforth let no anger arise as of old; work no more 22 harm to the harvest, for living beings love their happiness; cherish love for beings, let men live in happiness.' Thus 23 were they taught by him and they did according to (this teaching). Then the lord of serpents made the thera sit upon 24 a jewel-throne and he stood near, fanning him. But the 25 dwellers in Kasmīra and Gandhāra who had come to worship

[1] The right reading appears to be yaṃ ettha bhayabheravaṃ. The construction of the sentence is, however, very difficult. For the explanation of the Ṭīkā see Mah. ed., note on the passage.

[2] See note to 1. 32 and 62.

[3] Skt. kumbhāṇḍa, name of a class of supernatural beings under the rule of Virūḷhaka. The gandhabbas (= Skr. gandharva) are a class of demigods who are the attendants of Dhataraṭṭha. Virūḷhaka, and Dhataraṭṭha are two of the four great kings of the world (lokapālā), the regents of the south and north.

[4] I. e. the sotāpattiphala. Cf. note to 1. 33.

the nāga-king acknowledged the thera as the mightier in
26 working wonders,[1] and when they had paid the thera reverence they seated themselves on one side near him. The thera expounded to them the dhamma, (namely) the Āsīvisūpamā.[2]
27 The conversion of eighty thousand persons took place[3] and a hundred thousand persons received the pabbajjā from the
28 thera. Since then Kasmīra and Gandhāra shine with yellow robes and prize above all the three things.[4]

29 The thera Mahādeva who had gone to the Mahisamaṇḍala[5] country preached in the midst of the people the Devadūta-
30 suttanta.[6] Forty thousand (persons) made pure (in themselves) the eye of the truth and yet forty thousand received from him the pabbajjā-ordination.

31 The thera Rakkhita, who had gone to Vanavāsa,[7] preached, floating in the air in the midst of the people, the Anamataggа-
32 saṃyutta.[8] The conversion of sixty thousand persons took place, thirty-seven thousand in number received the pabbajjā
33 from him. Five hundred vihāras were founded in the

[1] Cf. Mah. ed., note on this passage, also 14. 20 with note. The positive mahiddhika stands for the comparative.

[2] The āsīvisa-sutta of S. IV, pp. 172–175, or the āsīvisopamā 'simile of the serpent' of A. II, pp. 110–111.

[3] See note to 1. 32.

[4] Namely buddha, dhamma, saṃgha, the Buddha, his doctrine and his order. See note to 1. 62.

[5] Mahisamaṇḍala is generally taken as the modern Mysore. But FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 429 foll., has shown that this identification is hardly correct. He himself takes Mahisamaṇḍala as 'territory of the Māhisha' of which the capital was Māhishmatī. Agreeing with PARGITER he places this capital on the island of the Narbadā river, now called Mandhāta. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, s. v. Mahisamaṇḍala is, therefore, a district south of the Vindhyan mountains.

[6] I.e. 'Discourse on the Messengers of God.' See M. III, pp. 178–187; A. I, pp. 138–142. The suttanta deals with old age, disease, and death as messengers of Yama the god of death.

[7] The Vanavāsaka or Vanavāsin are mentioned in the Mahābhārata, 6. 366, and Harivaṃśa, 5232, as a people dwelling in southern India. See B.R., *Skt. Wtb.* s.vv. There is also a modern town Banavāsi in North Kānara which seems to have preserved the old name. *Imp. Gaz. of India*, s.v.

[8] S. II, pp. 178–193.

country. Thus did the thera establish there the religion of the Conqueror.

The thera Dhammarakkhita the Yona, being gone to 34 Aparantaka[1] and having preached in the midst of the people the Aggikkhandhopamā-sutta,[2] gave to drink of the nectar of 35 truth to thirty-seven thousand living beings who had come together there, he who perfectly understood truth and untruth. 36 A thousand men and yet more women went forth from noble families and received the pabbajjā.

The wise Mahādhammarakkhita, who had gone to Mahā- 37 raṭṭha,[3] related there the jātaka called Mahānāradakassapa.[4] Eighty-four thousand persons attained to the reward of the 38 path (of salvation), thirteen thousand received from him the

The wise Mahārakkhita who went to the country of the 39 Yona[5] delivered in the midst of the people the Kālakārāma-suttanta[6] A hundred and seventy thousand living beings 40 attained to the reward of the path (of salvation); ten thousand received the pabbajjā.

The wise Majjhima[7] preached in the Himalaya region whither 41

[1] Skr. Aparānta 'the western ends', comprising the territory of northern Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār, Kachchh, and Sind. FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 427.

[2] I. e. 'The discourse on the parable of the flames of fire.' A. IV, pp. 128–135.

[3] Skr. Mahārāṣṭra, the country of the Marāṭhī.

[4] FAUSBÖLL, *Jāt.* vi, pp. 219–255.

[5] The Yonas (Skt Yavana) are also mentioned, together with the Kambojas, in the Rock Edicts V and XIII of Aśoka. They 'must mean the clans of foreign race (not necessarily Greek) on the north-western frontier, included in the empire (of Aśoka)'. V. A. SMITH, *Asoka*, p. 132, n. 2. It is remarkable that just at that time (246 B.C.) the Greco-Bactrian kingdom was founded by Diodotos. See SPIEGEL, *Eran. Alterthumsk.*, III, p. 49 foll.

[6] Probably by this title is meant the suttanta 24 of the Catukkanipāta in A. II, pp. 24–26. The Kālakārāma is supposed to be the place where Buddha delivered this discourse.

[7] The companions of Majjhima, according to Dīp. 8. 10, Smp. 317[19], MBv. 115[5], and Ṭīkā 222[6], were the theras Kassapagotta, Mūladeva (Alakadeva), Sahadeva, and Dundubhissara. See the Introduction.

he had gone with four theras, the Dhammacakkappavattana-
42 suttanta.[1] Eighty koṭis of living beings attained to the reward of the path (of salvation). The five theras separately con-
43 verted five kingdoms; from each of them a hundred thousand persons received the pabbajjā, believing in the doctrine of the Sammāsambuddha.

44 Together with the thera Uttara the thera Soṇa of wondrous
45 might went to Suvaṇṇabhūmi.[2] Now at this time, whenever a boy was born in the king's palace, a fearsome female demon who came forth out of the sea, was wont to devour (the
46 child) and vanish again. And at that very moment a prince was born in the king's palace. When the people saw the theras they thought: 'These are companions of the demons,'
47 and they came armed to kill them. And the theras asked: 'What does this mean?' and said to them: 'We
48 are pious ascetics, in no wise companions of the demon.' Then the demon came forth from the ocean with her follow-
49 ing, and when the people saw them they raised a great outcry.
50 But the thera created twice as many terrifying demons and therewith surrounded the demon and her following on every side. She thought: 'This (country) is come into possession of these (people),' and, panic-stricken, she took to flight.

51 When the thera had made a bulwark round the country he pronounced in the assembly the Brahmajāla(suttanta).[3]

52 Many were the people who came unto the (three) refuges and the precepts of duty; sixty thousand were converted to

[1] I. e. 'The discourse of the setting in motion the wheel of the doctrine.' See M.V. I. 6. 17 foll. (= *Vin. Piṭ.* i, p. 10 foll.); S.V, pp. 420–431; *S.B.E.* xi, p. 146 foll.

[2] The general opinion was, until recently, that Suvaṇṇabhūmi 'the gold-land' is lower Burma with adjacent districts. But this is very doubtful, since it is a fact that Buddhism reached Burma from China in the Mahāyāna-form and not before the fourth century A. D. FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 428, suggests that Suvaṇṇabhūmi might be the country in Bengal called by Hiuen-tsang 'Ka-lo-na-su-fa-la-na' = Karṇasuvarṇa, or else the country along the river Son, a river in Central India, and tributary of the Ganges on its right bank, which is also called Hiraṇyavāha 'the gold-bearer'.

[3] I. e. 'The Net of the Religious,' D. I, p. 1 foll.

the true faith. Three thousand five hundred sons of noble 53 families received the pabbajjā and one thousand five hundred daughters of noble families received it likewise. Thenceforth 54 when a prince was born in the royal palace the kings gave to such the name Soṇuttara.

Since they did even forbear to enter into the bliss already 55 won—(such was) also the renunciation of the all-compassionate Conqueror—they bestowed blessing on the world,[1] (going) here and there. Who should grow weary in (striving for) the salvation of the world?

Here ends the twelfth chapter, called 'The Converting of Different Countries', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] The sense is this: The theras had already attained to arahantship and were in possession of nibbāṇa. Nevertheless they forebore to pass into nibbāṇa, in order that they might first show the way salvation to the world. They thus followed the example of the Buddha who had practised the same renunciation (**kaḍḍhana**). See M.V. I. 5. 2 foll. (= *Vin. Piṭ.* i, p. 4 foll.).

CHAPTER XIII

THE COMING OF MAHINDA

1 THE great thera Mahinda, of lofty wisdom, who at that time had been twelve years (a monk), charged by his teacher
2 and by the brotherhood to convert the island of Laṅkā, pondered on the fitting time (for this) and thought: 'Old is the king Muṭasiva; his son must become king.'

3 When he had resolved to visit in the meantime his kinsfolk, he bade farewell to his teacher and the brotherhood and
4 having asked the leave of the king he took with him the four theras[1] and also Saṃghamittā's son, the miraculously gifted
5 sāmaṇera Sumana,[2] mighty in the six supernormal powers; and he went to Dakkhiṇāgiri[3] to confer on his kinsfolk (the) grace (of his preaching). While he was so doing six months passed away.

6 When he came in time to Vedisagiri[4] the city of his mother
7 Devī, he visited his mother and when Devī saw her dear son she made him welcome, and his companions likewise, with foods prepared by herself, and she led the thera up to the lovely vihāra Vedisagiri.

8 When the prince Asoka, while ruling over the realm of Avanti, that his father had bestowed on him, halted in the
9 town of Vedisa, before he came to Ujjenī, and met there a
10 lovely maiden named Devī, the daughter of a merchant, he made her his wife; and she was (afterwards) with child by
11 him and bore in Ujjenī a beautiful boy, Mahinda, and when two years had passed (she bore) a daughter, Saṃghamittā. At

[1] See 12. 7. [2] See 5. 170.

[3] A vihāra in Ujjenī, Skr. Ujjayinī. See note to 5. 39.

[4] Vedisa is the modern Bhilsa in Gwalior State, situated 26 miles north-east of Bhopāl. See *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, s. v.; E. MÜLLER, *J.P.T.S.* 1888, p. 87; RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, p. 288.

that time[1] she lived in the city of Vedisa. The thera who then 12 sojourned there, perceiving (that) the time (was come), thought thus: 'In that great festival of consecration commanded by 13 my father shall the great king Devānaṃpiyatissa take part, and he shall know the splendour of the three things[2] when he has heard it from the envoys. He shall climb the Missaka- 14 mountain[3] on the uposatha-day of the month Jeṭṭha.[4] On that same day we will go to the beauteous isle of Laṅkā.'

The great Indra[5] sought out the excellent thera Mahinda 15 and said to him: 'Set forth to convert Laṅkā; by the Saṃbuddha also hast thou been foretold (for this) and we will be 16 those who aid thee there.'

The son of a daughter of Devī's sister, (a youth) named Bhaṇḍuka, who had heard the doctrine preached by the thera 17 to Devī, and who had obtained the reward of one who shall return no more unto life[6] remained with the thera.

When he had stayed there a month the thera, on the uposatha-day of the month Jeṭṭha, with the four theras and 18 Sumana,[7] and the lay-disciple Bhaṇḍuka also, to the end that 19 they might be known for human beings,[8] rose up in the air (and departed) from that vihāra; and he, the (thera) of wondrous powers, coming hither with his following alighted on 20

[1] Namely, at the time of Mahinda's visit.

[2] Cf. note to 12. 28.

[3] Now the mountain Mihintale (= 'plain of Mahinda', according to A. GUNASEKARA), 8 miles to the east of Anurādhapura.

[4] See note to 1. 12.

[5] A play upon the name Mahinda.

[6] The stage of anāgāmī is the third and last stage but one, on the path of salvation leading to nibbāṇa. Such an one will not be re-born, either in the world of gods or of men, but only in a Brahma-world, where he will attain nibbāṇa. See CHILDERS, s. v.

[7] It seems almost as if v. 18 were an interpolated verse. If we omit it 19 follows perfectly well on 17: '. . . remained with the thera; with this lay-disciple . . . he rose up, &c.' That, besides, the four theras and Sumana were Mahinda's fellow-travellers is already known from 12. 7 and 13. 4.

[8] With this cf. 14. 31, also Mah. ed., note to 13. 19b and Album Kern 205-206.

the pleasant Missaka-mountain, on the Sīla-peak on the open and fair Ambatthala.[1]

21 He who was foretold by the Sage, in the hour of death, as bringing salvation to Laṅkā,[2] by his merit in converting Laṅkā, he, who for Laṅkā's salvation had become like to the Master,[3] alighted there, extolled by the gods of Laṅkā.

Here ends the thirteenth chapter, called 'The Coming of Mahinda', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] Cf. TENNENT, *Ceylon*, ii, p. 605 foll. The Sīlakūṭa is the northern peak of the Mihintale-mountain. Immediately below it lies the little tableland on which the Ambatthala-dagaba stands.

[2] Lit. 'For the blessing of L.'

[3] The allusion probably is to the Buddha's legendary visit to the island.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ENTRY INTO THE CAPITAL

THE king Devānampiyatissa who had arranged a water-festival for the dwellers in the capital, set forth to enjoy the pleasures of the chase. Attended by forty thousand of his men he went on foot to the Missaka-mountain. The deva of the mountain who desired to show the theras to him, appeared there in the form of an elk-stag browsing in the thicket. When the king saw him, he thought: 'It is unseemly to kill an unheeding (creature)' and he struck out a sound from his bowstring; the stag fled towards the mountain. The king pursued, but the stag in his flight drew near to the thera. When the thera came into the prince's view the (deva) himself vanished. 1 2 3 4 5

Thinking: 'If he sees too many (people) he will be too much afraid,' the thera let (the king) see him alone. When the king beheld him he stood still terrified. The thera said to him: 'Come hither, Tissa.' Then, from the calling him by his name, Tissa, the king thought forthwith: '(That is) a yakkha.' 'Samaṇas are we, O great king, disciples of the King of Truth. From compassion toward thee are we come hither from Jambudīpa,' thus said the thera. When the king heard this fear left him. And remembering the message of his friend, and persuaded that these were samaṇas, he laid bow and arrow aside and approaching the sage he exchanged greeting with the thera and sat down near him. 6 7 8 9 10

Then came his people and surrounded him and the great thera caused the others who had come with him to become visible. When the king beheld these too he said: 'When did these come hither?' The thera answered: '(They came) with me.' And 11 12

13 he asked moreover: 'Are there in Jambudīpa other ascetics like to these?' The other said: 'Jambudīpa is gleaming with
14 yellow robes; and great is the number there of arahants learned in the three vedas, gifted with miraculous powers, skilled in reading the thoughts of others, possessing the heavenly ear:[1] the disciples of the Buddha.'

15 (The king) then asked: 'By what way are you come?' And since the answer was: 'Neither by land nor by water are we come,' he understood that they had come through the air.

16 To test him that most wise (thera) now asked a subtle question, and even as he was questioned the monarch answered the questions severally.

17 'What name does this tree bear, O king?'
'This tree is called a mango.'
'Is there yet another mango beside this?'
'There are many mango-trees.'

18 'And are there yet other trees besides this mango and the other mangoes?'
'There are many trees, sir; but those are trees that are not mangoes.'

19 'And are there, beside the other mangoes and those trees which are not mangoes, yet other trees?'
'There is this mango-tree, sir.'
'Thou hast a shrewd wit, O ruler of men!'

20 'Hast thou kinsfolk, O king?'
'They are many, sir.'
'And are there also some, O king, who are not kinsfolk of thine?'
'There are yet more[2] of those than of my kin.'

21 'Is there yet any one besides the kinsfolk and the others?'
'There is yet myself, sir.'
'Good! thou hast a shrewd wit, O ruler of men!'

22 When he had known that he was a keen-witted man, the

[1] Iddhi, cetopariyañāṇa and dibbasota are three of the six abhiññā. See note on 4. 12 (No. I, III, II).

[2] The positive bahū, with the abl. ñātito, stands instead of the comparative. See 12. 25 (with note) also Mah. ed., Introd., p. liv.

wise thera preached to the monarch the Cūlahatthipadūpama-suttanta.[1] At the end of the discourse he, with the forty 23 thousand men, came unto the (three) refuges.[2]

In the evening they brought the king's meal to him. 24 Although the king knew that these (bhikkhus) would not eat then he invited the sages to the meal, with the thought: 'It 25 were seemly at least to ask them.' When they told him: 'We do not eat now,' he asked concerning the time. And 26 when he was told the time, he said: 'We will go into the city.'

'Go thou, great king, we will stay here.'

'If that be so, then must this young man[3] come with us.' 27

'This (youth) is one who has attained the goal,[4] has grasped the doctrine and waits for the pabbajjā, (therefore) must he 28 abide near us. We wish to bestow on him the pabbajjā now; depart then, O king.' Then, when he had taken leave of the 29 theras with the words: 'To-morrow I will send a waggon, do you enter it and come into the city,' he took Bhaṇḍu aside and asked him what the theras intended (to do). And he 30 told the king all. When (the king) heard the thera's name he was full of joy and thought: 'This is blessing for me.' And now the king, whose fear had left him because Bhaṇḍu 31 was a layman, knew that these were human beings.[5] Saying: 'Let us bestow on him the pabbajjā,' the thera bestowed on 32 young Bhaṇḍuka, within the boundaries of that village and within that group (of bhikkhus),[6] both the pabbajjā and the

[1] I.e. 'The lesser discourse on the simile of the elephant's foot-print.' M. I, pp. 175–184.

[2] See notes to 1. 32 and 62.

[3] Namely Bhaṇḍu.

[4] Āgataphala is a synonym of anāgāmiphala. See 13. 17.

[5] See the note to 13. 19. The king's remaining fears that he was in the presence of supernatural beings, were only overcome by the details communicated by Bhaṇḍu.

[6] Every monastery has its parish, the bounds of which (sīmā) are strictly fixed according to M.V. II. 11 foll., and within these the ecclesiastical proceedings take place. Since there were as yet no monasteries in Ceylon the boundaries of the village situated on Missaka served as a parish. But the chapter (gaṇa) which carried out the ordination was formed by Mahinda and his companions.

33 upasampadā-ordination, and even in the same moment he attained to the state of arahant.

34 Then the thera ordered the sāmaṇera Sumana: 'Announce ye the time of preaching the dhamma.' He asked: 'How far, sir, 35 shall I make the time to be heard when I announce it?' When the thera answered: 'Over all Tambapaṇṇi,' he announced the time of (preaching the) dhamma, making it to be heard, by his miraculous power, over the whole of Laṅkā.

36 When the king, who was seated by the rock-basin at the Nāgacatukka [1] and was taking his repast, heard the loud 37 summons, he sent a message to the thera asking: 'Has any misfortune come to pass?' 'He answered: 'No misfortune has come to pass; the time was proclaimed for hearing the word of the Sambuddha.'

38 When the earth-gods heard the summons of the sāmaṇera they echoed it and so the call rose up gradually to Brahma's 39 heaven. Because of the summons there came together a great assembly of devas; and the thera preached before this gathering the Samacitta-sutta.[2]

40 Devas without number were converted to the doctrine and many nāgas and supaṇṇas [3] came unto the (three) 41 refuges. Even as when the thera Sāriputta uttered this discourse so did the devas gather together to hear it from Mahinda.

42 On the morrow the king sent a waggon. The driver came and said: 'Mount into the waggon, we will drive to the city.' 43 'We will not mount into the waggon; go thou, we will follow thee.' Saying this they, full of holy desires,[4] sent the 44 driver away; and they rose into the air and by their miraculous power they descended to the east of the city in the place

[1] By this is probably meant the Nāgapokuṇa situated some distance below the Ambatthala. See GEIGER, *Ceylon*, p. 204.

[2] By Samacitta-sutta we have to understand Sutta 5-6 of the Samacitta-vagga in the Dukanipāta of A. I, pp. 63-65. The subject is spiritual calm.

[3] See note to 19. 20.

[4] In sumanorathā a play on the words ratha 'waggon' and sārathi 'driver' is intended. The ratha of the theras is sumanas 'pious feeling'.

where the first thūpa (afterwards stood). And thenceforward 45 to this day the cetiya that was built on the spot where the theras first alighted [1] is called the Paṭhamacetiya.[2]

Since the women of the royal household, hearing from the 46 king of the virtues of the theras, desired to see them, the monarch had a lovely pavilion built for them within the royal 47 precincts, covered with white stuffs and with flowers and beautifully adorned.

And since he had heard from the thera that they would not 48 sit upon raised seats, he pondered doubtfully: 'Will the thera indeed sit upon a raised seat?' In the meantime the driver 49 saw the theras standing there [3] putting on their robes and in wonderment he came and told the king. Hearing all (this) it 50 became clear to the king that they would not sit on chairs. And commanding: 'Let the finest carpets be spread upon the 51 ground,' he went to meet the theras, greeted them reverently, took the almsbowl from the great thera Mahinda's hand and 52 led the thera into the city, as is the custom in hospitable welcome and homage.

And the soothsayers, when they saw the seats prepared, 53 foretold: 'The earth is occupied by these (bhikkhus); they will be lords upon the island.' Showing them honour the king 54 led the theras into the palace. There, according to their rank, they took their seat on chairs covered with stuffs. The king 55 himself served them with rice-soup and with foods hard and soft. And when the meal was finished, he himself sat down at their feet and sent for Anulā, the consort of his younger 56 brother, the sub-king Mahānāga, who dwelt in the royal palace. When the queen Anulā had come with five hundred 57 women and had bowed down and made offerings to the theras, she stepped to one side. The thera preached the Petavatthu, 58

[1] Cf. the same construction in 10. 10. See also Mah. ed., Introd., p. liii.

[2] The Paṭhamacetiya 'the First cetiya' has not been found in the ruins of Anurādhapura. It stood, no doubt, outside the eastern gate of the city. PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 275.

[3] Namely at the spot where they had alighted from the air, and where the driver only arrived after them.

the Vimānavatthu [1] and the Sacca-saṃyutta.[2] The women attained to the first stage of sanctification.[3]

59 And many people from the city, hearing from persons who had seen them the day before, of the virtues of the theras, 60 came together desirous to see the theras and made a great stir at the palace-gates. When the king heard that and had been told, on asking, (why it was so,) he said, thoughtful for their 61 welfare: 'Here there is not enough space for all these men; let them cleanse the hall of the state-elephant, there shall 62 the townspeople be able to look upon the theras. When they had cleansed the elephant's hall, and had adorned it speedily with canopies and so forth, they prepared seats 63 there (for the theras), according to their rank. The great thera went thither with the (other) theras and when he had taken his seat, he, the eminent preacher, preached the Deva-64 dūta-suttanta.[4] When the townspeople, who were come together, heard it, they were filled with faith and a thousand persons among them attained to the first stage of salvation.

65 When thus in the isle of Laṅkā the peerless thera, like unto the Master in the protection of Laṅkā, had preached the true doctrine in two places, in the speech of the island, he, the light of the island, thus brought to pass the descent of the true faith.

Here ends the fourteenth chapter, called 'The Entry into the Capital', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] The Petavatthu and the Vimānavatthu are books of the Khuddaka-nikāya in the Sutta-piṭaka. The former contains stories of ghosts that dwell in the ghost-world, as a punishment for sins committed, the latter contains descriptions of the marvellous palaces that serve as dwellings for happy ghosts. Both texts have been edited by EDM. HARDY, *P.T.S.* 1889, 1886.

[2] See S. V, pp. 414-478.

[3] I. e. the sotāpatti. Cf. note to 1. 33.

[4] See note to 12. 29.

CHAPTER XV

THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE MAHĀVIHĀRA

WHEN they saw that the elephant's hall was also too small, 1 the people who had assembled there, full of pious zeal, prepared seats for the theras outside the southern gate, in the pleasant 2 Nandana-garden[1] in the royal park, thickly shaded, cool and covered with verdure. The thera went forth by the south gate 3 and seated himself there. Numbers of women of noble families who came thither sat at the thera's feet filling the garden. 4 And to them the thera preached the Bālapaṇḍita-suttanta.[2] A 5 thousand of the women attained to the first stage of salvation. So, there in the grove, evening fell.

Then the theras set forth saying: 'We will go hence to 6 the mountain.' And they told the king, and the king came with all speed. Approaching the thera he said to him: 'It is 7 evening-time, and the mountain is far away; but here in the Nandana-garden is a pleasant place to rest.' When they 8 answered: 'It is not fitting (for us) being too near the city,' (he said): 'The Mahāmegha-park is neither too far nor too near; pleasant (is it), and water and shade abound there; 9 may it please you to rest there! Thou must turn back, lord!' Then the thera turned back.

The cetiya (afterwards) built on the spot where he turned 10 back, near the Kadamba-river, is called therefore Nivatta-cetiya.[3]

Southwards from Nandana the lord of chariots himself led 11 the thera to the Mahāmegha-park, at the east gate. When 12

[1] See note to 11. 2.

[2] I. e. 'the discourse of the fool and the wise man.' Probably the suttanta S. II, pp. 23-25, or perhaps A. I, 101-105.

[3] I.e. the turning-back cetiya. The thūpa was probably not far from the Paṭhamacetiya. See note to 14. 45.

the king had bidden them prepare fine beds and chairs in fitting wise, in the pleasant royal dwelling, and had taken
13 leave of the theras, saying: 'Dwell here in comfort,' he returned to the city, surrounded by his ministers; but the theras sojourned there that night.

14 As soon as the morning came, the ruler of the land took flowers and visited the theras, greeting them and offering
15 flowers in homage, and he asked them: 'Was (your) rest pleasant? Is the garden fitting (for you)?'

'Pleasant was our rest, O great king, and the garden is fitting for ascetics.'

16 And he asked (moreover): 'Is an ārāma allowed to the brotherhood, sir?' 'It is allowed,' replied the thera, who had knowledge of that which is allowed and that which is not
17 allowed. And he related the accepting of the Veḷuvanārāma.[1] When the other heard it, he rejoiced greatly and (all) the people were pleased and joyful.

18 But the queen Anulā, who had come with five hundred women to greet the theras, attained to the second stage of salvation.[2]
19 And the queen Anulā with her five hundred women said to the king: 'We would fain receive the pabbajjā-ordination,
20 your Majesty.' The king said to the thera, 'Bestow ye on them the pabbajjā!' But the thera made answer to the king: 'It is not allowed (to us), O great king, to bestow the
21 pabbajjā on women. But in Pāṭaliputta there lives a nun, my younger sister, known by the name Saṃghamittā. She,
22 who is ripe in experience, shall come hither bringing with her the southern branch of the great Bodhi-tree of the king of samaṇas, O king of men, and (bringing) also bhikkhuṇīs
23 renowned (for holiness); to this end send a message to the king my father. When this therī is here she will confer the pabbajjā upon these women.'

[1] The Veḷuvana 'Bamboo-grove' near Rājagaha was a present of the Māgadha-king Bimbisāra to the Buddha. M.V. I. 22. 17–18 (= *Vin. Piṭ.* i, p. 39, *S.B.E.* xiii, p. 143); *Jāt.* i, p. 85, 1 foll.

[2] I.e. the sakadāgāmiphala. A sakadāgāmī is one who will only once be reborn in the world of men before attaining to nibbāṇa.

'It is well,' said the king, and taking a splendid vase he 24 poured water (in token) of giving, over the hand of the thera Mahinda with the words: 'This Mahāmegha-park do I give 25 to the brotherhood.'

As the water fell on the ground, the great earth quaked. And the protector of the earth asked the (thera): 'Wherefore 26 does the earth quake?' And he replied: 'Because the doctrine is (from henceforth) founded in the island.'

The noble (king)[1] offered jasmine-blossoms to the thera, 27 and the thera went to the royal dwelling and scattered eight handfuls of blossoms about the picula-tree[2] standing[3] on the 28 south side of it. And then again the earth quaked and when he was questioned he gave this reason: 'Already in the life- 29 time of three Buddhas there has been here a mālaka[4] for carrying out the duties of the brotherhood, O king, and now will it be so once more.'

Northward he went from the royal dwelling to the beautiful 30 bathing-tank, and there also the thera scattered as many blossoms. And then again did the earth quake, and being 31 asked (the thera) gave this reason: 'This, O ruler of the earth, will be the tank with the room for warm baths.'[5]

Then the wise (thera) went to the gateway of the same 32 king's dwelling and did homage to the spot with (the offering of) as many flowers. And here again the earth quaked; and 33 quivering with joy the king asked the reason, and the thera told him the reason: 'Here the south branch of the Bodhi- 34

[1] A play on the words jātimant 'of high birth' (jāti), and jāti 'the great flowered jasmine'.

[2] *Tamarix Indica.*

[3] I would prefer the reading ṭhite agreeing with picule instead of ṭhito. Certainly B 2 is the only one in the collated MSS. that has this reading, but it is supported by the Ṭīkā.

[4] Mālaka is a space marked off and usually terraced, within which sacred functions were carried out. In the Mahāvihāra (Tissārāma) at Anurādhapura there were 32 mālakas. Dīp. 14. 78; Mah. 15. 192. The sacred Bodhi-tree for instance was surrounded by a mālaka.

[5] On the jantāghara ('a bathing-place for hot sitting-baths', *S.B.E.* xiii, p. 157, n. 2) see M.V. I. 25. 12-13; C.V. V. 14. 3 foll.; VIII. 8. 1 foll.

tree of the three Buddhas[1] of our age was planted, when
35 they had brought it hither, O king, and the south branch of the Bodhi-tree of our Tathāgata will likewise have its place on this same spot, lord of the earth.'

36 Then the great thera went to the Mahāmucalamālaka and
37 scattered on that spot as many flowers. And then again the earth quaked, and being questioned he told (the king) the reason: 'The uposatha-hall of the brotherhood will be here, O lord of the earth.'

38 Afterwards the wise thera went to the place of the Pañhambamālaka.

A ripe mango-tree, excellent in colour, fragrance and taste
39 and of large size, did the gardener offer to the king, and the
40 king offered the splendid (fruit) to the thera. The thera, bringer of good to mankind, let the king know that he would fain rest seated and forthwith the king had a fine carpet
41 spread. When the thera was seated the king gave him the mango-fruit. When the thera had eaten it he gave the kernel
42 to the king to plant. The king himself planted it there and
43 over it, that it might grow, the thera washed his hands. In that same moment a shoot sprouted forth from the kernel and grew little by little to a tall tree bearing leaves and fruit.

44 When those who were present with the king beheld this miracle, they stood there doing homage to the thera, their hair raising on end (with amazement).

45 Now the thera scattered there eight handfuls of flowers and then again the earth quaked. And being asked he gave the
46 reason: 'This place will be the place where many gifts shall be distributed, which shall be given to the brotherhood, (the bhikkhus) being assembled together, O ruler of men.'

47 And he went up to the place where (afterwards) the Catussālā[2] was, and there he scattered as many flowers, and then

[1] The three Buddhas who preceded the historical Buddha in the present age of the world (kappa, lasting many millions of years), are named Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana and Kassapa. According to the legend they all, like Gotama, visited Ceylon and the events always followed the same course. GEIGER, *Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa*, p. 8 foll., and Mah. 15. 57 foll.

[2] I. e. a quadrangular hall which served as a refectory for the monks.

again did the earth quake. And when the king asked the 48 reason of the earthquake the thera made answer: 'On the occasion of the receipt of a royal park by the three former 49 Buddhas,[1] on this spot the gifts brought from all parts by the dwellers in the island being laid down, the three Blessed Ones and their communities accepted them. And now again 50 the Catussālā will stand here and here will be the refectory of the brotherhood, O lord of men.'

From thence the great thera Mahinda, the friend[2] of the 51 island, knowing what was a fitting place, and what unfitting, went to the spot where the Great thūpa[3] (afterwards) stood.

At that time there was within the enclosure of the royal 52 park a little pond called the Kakudha-pond; at its upper end, on the brink of the water, was a level spot fitting for the 53 thūpa.

When the thera went thither they brought the king eight baskets of campaka-flowers.[4] The king offered the campaka- 54 flowers to the thera and the thera did homage to the spot with the campaka-flowers. And then again the earth quaked, the 55 king asked the reason of the earthquake and the thera gave in due order the reasons for the earthquake.

'This place, O great king, which has been visited by four 56 Buddhas is worthy of a thūpa, to be a blessing and happiness to beings.

'In our age of the world there lived first[5] the Conqueror 57 Kakusandha, a teacher versed in all truth, compassionate toward all the world. At that time this Mahāmegha-grove 58 was known as Mahātittha; the capital called Abhaya lay eastward on the other side of the Kadamba-river,[6] there Abhaya 59 was king. This island then bore the name Ojadīpa.

'By (the power of) the demons pestilence arose here among 60

[1] See note to 15. 34.

[2] Dīpavaḍḍhana, lit. furtherer, increaser of the island.

[3] I. e. the Ruwanwæli-dagaba = pāli Hemamālī, see 15. 167.

[4] *Michelia Champaka*, Lin., belonging to the Magnoliaceae.

[5] Cf. 15. 91 foll., and 125 foll.

[6] I now prefer to refer Kadambanadiyā pāre to the preceding phrase, therefore Mah. ed. the comma after ahu (58 d.) should be deleted and placed after pāre (59 a).

the people. When Kakusandha, who was gifted with the ten
61 powers,[1] knew of this misery, then, to bring it to an end and to achieve the converting of beings and progress of the doctrine in this island, he, urged on by the might of his compas-
62 sion, came through the air surrounded by forty thousand
63 (disciples) like to him,[2] and stood on the Devakūṭa-mountain. By the power of the Sambuddha, O great king, the pestilence ceased then here over the whole island.

64 'Standing there, O king of men, the King of the Wise, the Great Sage, proclaimed his will: "All men in Ojadīpa shall
65 see me this day, and if they only desire to come (to me) all men shall draw near to me without trouble and speedily."

66 'When the king and the townsfolk saw the Prince of the Wise, shining and making the mountain to shine, they came swiftly thither.

67 'The people, who were going thither to bring offerings to the devatās, believed the Guide of the World with the brotherhood
68 to be (such) devatās. And when the king, greatly rejoicing had greeted the King of the Wise, had invited him to a repast
69 and had brought him into the city, the monarch then thinking: "This stately and pleasant place is fitting for the resting-place of the Prince of the Wise, with the brotherhood, and not too
70 small," made the Sambuddha and the brotherhood sit here on beautiful seats in a fine pavilion raised (by him).

71 'When the people in the island saw the Guide of the world with the brotherhood sitting here they brought gifts hither
72 from every side. And the king served the Guide of the World together with the brotherhood with his own food, both hard and soft, and with such (foods) as were brought by sundry other folk.

73 'While the Conqueror was seated, after the meal, on this very spot,[3] the king offered him the Mahātitthaka-garden as a
74 precious gift. When the Mahātitthaka-grove, gay with

[1] See note to 3. 6.

[2] Tādī, i. e. like him, blessed like (the Buddha) himself; by extension, a synonym of arahā. Cf. Therag. 62, 205, 206; Suttanip. 86, 957, &c.

[3] Idheva, that is, 'here, just where we now are.'

blossoms at an unwonted season, was accepted by the Buddha the great earth quaked. And sitting even here, the Master 75 preached the doctrine; forty thousand persons attained to the fruit of the path (of salvation).

'When the Conqueror had stayed the day through in the 76 Mahātittha-grove he went in the evening to that plot of ground which was fitting for the place of the Bodhi-tree, and after he, sit- 77 ting there, had sunk in deep meditation the Sambuddha, rising from thence again, thought, mindful of the salvation of the island-people: "Bringing the south branch of my Bodhi-tree, 78 the sirīsa,[1] with her, the bhikkhunī Rucānandā shall come hither with (other) bhikkhunīs."

'When the therī knew his thought[2] she forthwith took the 79 king of that country[3] with her and went to the tree. Then 80 when the therī of wondrous power had drawn a line with a pencil of red arsenic around the south branch she took the Bodhi-tree thus separated and set it in a golden vase, and this, 81 by her miraculous power she brought hither, O great king, with (company of her) five hundred bhikkhunīs, surrounded by the devatās, and she placed it, with its golden vase, in the out- 82 stretched right hand of the Sambuddha. The Tathāgata received the Bodhi-branch and gave it to the king Abhaya to 83 plant; the lord of the earth planted it in the Mahātittha-garden.

'Then the Sambuddha went northwards from this place, and 84 sitting in the beautiful Sirīsamālaka the Tathāgata preached 85 the true doctrine to the people. Then, O prince, the conversion of twenty thousand living beings took place.[4] Thereupon the 86 Conqueror went yet further north to that plot of ground where (afterwards) the Thūpārāma[5] stood, and after he, sitting there, had sunk into meditation, the Sambuddha rising from thence 87 again preached the doctrine to those around him, and even at that place did ten thousand living beings attain to the fruit of the path (of salvation).

[1] *Acacia Sirissa.* [2] By means of her omniscience.

[3] According to the Ṭīkā king Khema of Khemavatī (in Jambudīpa). See Buddhavaṃsa (ed. MORRIS, *P.T.S.* 1882) XXIII. 8.

[4] See note to 1. 32. [5] See below, note to 17. 30.

88 'Giving his own holy drinking-vessel for the homage of the people and leaving the bhikkhunī here with her following and
89 also his disciple Mahādeva with a thousand bhikkhus, the
90 Saṃbuddha went eastward from thence, and standing on the place of the Ratanamāla, he delivered exhortations to the people; then rising in the air with the brotherhood the Conqueror returned to Jambudīpa.

91 'Second [1] in our age of the world was the Lord Koṇāgamana, the all-knowing Teacher, compassionate toward all the world.

92 'At that time this Mahāmegha-grove was known as Mahānoma, the capital called Vaḍḍhamāna, lay to the south.
93 Samiddha was the name of the king of that region then. This island then bore the name Varadīpa.

94 'At that time the misery of drought prevailed here in Varadīpa. When the Conqueror Koṇāgamana knew of this misery,
95 then, to bring it to an end, and afterwards to achieve the converting of beings and progress of the doctrine in this island,
96 he, urged on by the might of his compassion, came through the air, surrounded by thirty thousand (disciples) like to him-
97 self, and stood upon the Sumanakūṭaka-mountain. By the power of the Saṃbuddha the drought came to an end, and from the time that the decline of the doctrine ceased rainfall in due season now began.

98 'And standing there, O king of men, the King of the Wise, the Great Sage, proclaimed his will: "All men in Varadīpa
99 shall see me this day, and if they only desire to come (to me) all men shall draw near to me without trouble and speedily."

100 'When the king and the townsfolk saw the Prince of the Wise, shining and making the mountain to shine, they came swiftly thither.

101 'The people who were going thither to bring offerings to the devatās believed the Guide of the World with the
102 brotherhood to be (such) devatās. And when the king, greatly rejoicing, had greeted the King of the Wise, had
103 invited him to a repast, and had brought him to the city, the monarch then thinking: "This stately and pleasant place is

[1] Cf. 15. 57 foll., and 15. 125 foll.

fitting for the resting-place of the Prince of the Wise with the brotherhood and not too small," made the Sambuddha and 104 the brotherhood sit here on beautiful seats in a fine pavilion raised (by him).

'When the people of the island saw the Guide of the World 105 with the brotherhood sitting here, they brought gifts hither from every side. And the king served the Guide of the 106 World together with the brotherhood with his own food, both hard and soft, and with such (foods) as were brought by sundry other folk.

'While the Conqueror was sitting, after the meal on this 107 very spot, the king offered him the Mahānoma-garden as a precious gift. And when the Mahānoma-grove, gay with 108 blossoms at an unwonted season, was accepted by the Buddha the great earth quaked. And sitting even here, the Master 109 preached the doctrine, then thirty thousand persons attained to the fruit of the path (of salvation).

'When the Conqueror had stayed the day through in the 110 Mahānoma-grove, he went in the evening to that plot of ground where the former Bodhi-tree had stood, and after 111 he, sitting there, had sunk in deep meditation, the Sambuddha, rising from thence again, thought, mindful of the salvation of the island-people: "Bringing the south branch of my Bodhi- 112 tree, the udumbara[1] with her, the bhikkhunī Kantakānandā shall come hither with (other) bhikkhunīs."

'When the therī knew his thought she forthwith took the 113 king of that region[2] with her and went to the tree. Then 114 when the therī of wondrous power had drawn a line with a pencil of red arsenic around the south branch, she took the Bodhi-tree thus separated, and set it in a golden vase, and 115 this, by her miraculous power, she brought hither, O great king, with (her company of) five hundred bhikkhunīs, surrounded by the devatās, and she placed it, with its golden 116 vase, in the outstretched right hand of the Sambuddha. The Tathāgata received it and gave it to the king Samiddha to 117

[1] *Ficus glomerata.*

[2] According to the Ṭīkā king Sobhana (Buddhavaṃsa XXIV. 16: Sobha) in the city Sobhavatī.

plant; the lord of the earth planted it there in the Mahānoma garden.

118 'Then the Saṃbuddha went northward from the Sirīsamāla and preached the doctrine to the people, sitting in the Nāga-
119 mālaka. When they heard the preaching of the doctrine, O king, the conversion of twenty thousand living beings took
120 place. When he had gone yet further northward to the place where the former Buddha had sat, and after he, sitting there,
121 had sunk into meditation, the Saṃbuddha, rising from thence again, preached the doctrine to those around him, and even at that place did ten thousand living beings attain to the fruit of the path (of salvation).

122 'Giving his girdle as a relic for the homage of the people,
123 and leaving the bhikkhunī here with her following and also his disciple Mahāsumba with a thousand bhikkhus, the Saṃ-
124 buddha, standing on this side of the Ratanamāla in the Sudassanamāla, delivered exhortations to the people; then rising with the brotherhood into the air, the Conqueror returned to Jambudīpa.

125 'Third[1] in our age of the world was the Conqueror of the Kassapa clan, the all-knowing Teacher, compassionate toward the whole world.

126 'The Mahāmegha-grove was called (at that time) Mahāsā-
127 gara; the capital, named Visāla, lay toward the West. Jayanta was the name of the king of that region then, and this isle bore then the name of Maṇḍadīpa.

128 'At that time a hideous and life-destroying war had broken
129 out between king Jayanta and his younger royal brother. When Kassapa, gifted with the ten powers,[2] the Sage, full of compassion, knew how great was the wretchedness caused to
130 beings by this war, then, to bring it to an end and afterwards to achieve the converting of beings and progress of the doctrine
131 in this island, he, urged on by the might of his compassion, came through the air surrounded by twenty thousand (disciples) like to himself, and he stood on the Subhakūṭa-mountain.

132 'Standing there, O king of men, the King of the Wise, the Great Sage, proclaimed his will: "All men in Maṇḍadīpa

[1] Cf. 15. 57 foll., and 91 foll. [2] See note to 3. 6.

shall see me this day; and if they only desire to come (to me) 133 all men shall draw near to me without trouble and speedily."

'When the king and the townsfolk saw the Prince of the 134 Wise, shining and making the mountain to shine, they came swiftly thither. The many people who were coming to the 135 mountain bringing offerings to the devatās, that their own side might win the victory, believed the Guide of the World 136 with the brotherhood to be (such) devatas; and the king and the prince amazed, halted in their battle. When the king, 137 greatly rejoicing, had greeted the King of the Wise, had invited him to a repast and had brought him to the city, the monarch then thinking: "This stately and pleasant place is 138 fitting for the resting-place of the King of the Wise with the brotherhood and not too small," made the Saṃbuddha and 139 the brotherhood sit here on beautiful seats in a fine pavilion raised (by him).

'When the people of the island saw the Guide of the World 140 with the brotherhood sitting here, they brought gifts hither from every side. And the king served the Guide of the 141 World together with the brotherhood with his own food, both hard and soft, and with such (foods) as were brought by sundry other folk.

'While the Conqueror was sitting, after the meal, on this 142 very spot, the king offered him the Mahāsāgara-garden as a precious gift. And when the Mahāsāgara-grove, gay with 143 blossoms at an unwonted season, was accepted by the Buddha, the great earth quaked. And sitting even here, the Master 144 preached the doctrine; then twenty thousand persons attained to the fruit of the path (of salvation).

'When the Blessed One had stayed the day through in the 145 Mahāsāgara-grove, he went in the evening to that plot of ground where the former Bodhi-trees had stood, and after he, 146 sitting there, had sunk into deep meditation, the Saṃbuddha, rising from thence again, thought, mindful of the salvation of the island-people; "Bringing the south branch of my Bodhi- 147 tree, the nigrodha,[1] with her, the bhikkhuṇī Sudhammā shall come now with (other) bhikkhuṇīs."

[1] *Ficus Indica*, the banyan-tree.

148 'When the therī knew his thought she forthwith took the
149 king[1] of that region with her and went to the tree. Then when the therī of wondrous power had drawn a line with a pencil of red arsenic around the south branch, she took the
150 Bodhi-branch thus separated and set it in a golden vase, and this, by her miraculous power, she brought hither, O great king, with (her company of) five hundred bhikkhunīs, surrounded by
151 the devatās; and she placed it with its golden vase, in the out-stretched right hand of the Saṃbuddha; the Tathāgata
152 received it and gave it to the king Jayanta to plant; the lord of the earth planted it there in the Mahāsāgara-garden.

153 'Then the Buddha went northward from the Nāgamālaka and preached the doctrine to the people seated in the Asoka-
154 mālaka. When they heard the preaching of the doctrine, O ruler of men, even there the conversion of four thousand
155 living beings took place. When he had then gone yet further northward to the place where the former Buddhas had sat, and after he, sitting there, had sunk into meditation, the
156 Saṃbuddha, rising from thence again, preached the doctrine to those around him; and even in that place did ten thousand living beings attain to the fruit of the path (of salvation).

157 'Giving his rain-cloak as a relic for the homage of the people,
158 and leaving the bhikkhunī here with her following, and also his disciple Sabbananda with a thousand bhikkhus, he, stand-
159 ing on this side of the river (and) of the Sudassanamāla in the Somanassamālaka, delivered exhortations to the people; then rising with the brotherhood into the air, the Conqueror returned to Jambudīpa.

160 'Fourth in our age of the world lived the Conqueror Gotama, the teacher, knowing the whole truth, compassionate
161 toward the whole world. When he came hither the first time he drove forth the yakkhas, when he came hither again the
162 second time he subdued the nāgas. When, besought by the nāga Maṇiakkhi in Kalyāṇī, he returned the third time, he took
163 his meal there with the brotherhood; and when he had taken

[1] According to the Ṭīkā king Kikī in the city of Bārāṇasī (Benares). See Buddhavaṃsa XXV. 33; Therīgāthā, Comm. (Paramatthadīpanī V), p. 17[27], &c.

his ease[1] in the place where the former Bodhi-trees had stood and in the place here appointed for the thūpa and (also) in the place (appointed for the guarding) of those (things) used by him (and left as) relics,[2] and when he had gone to this side of the place where the former Buddhas had stood, the great Sage, the Light of the World, since there were then no human beings in Laṅkādīpa, uttered exhortations to the host of devatās, dwelling in the island, and to the nāgas; then rising into the air with the brotherhood the Conqueror returned to Jambudīpa. 164 165

'Thus was this place, O king, visited by four Buddhas; on this spot, O great king, will the thūpa stand hereafter, with the relic-chamber for a doṇa[3] of the relics of the Buddha's body; (it will be) a hundred and twenty cubits[4] high and (will be) known by the name Hemamālī.' 166 167

Then said the ruler of the earth: 'I myself will build it.' 168
'For thee, O king, are many other tasks to fulfil here. Do thou carry them out; but one descended from thee shall build this (thūpa). A son of thy brother[5] the vice-regent Mahānāma, one named Yaṭṭhālāyakatissa, will hereafter be king, his son will be the king named Goṭhābhaya; his son will be (the king) named Kākavaṇṇatissa; this king's son, O king, will be the great king named Abhaya, renowned under the title Duṭṭhagāmaṇi: he, great in glory, wondrous power and prowess, will build the thūpa here.' 169 170 171 172

Thus spoke the thera, and because of the thera's words the 173

[1] Lit. 'when he had enjoyed by sitting down (in meditation) the place, &c.'

[2] Cf. 15, 88. 122, 157. Paribhogadhātu is a relic consisting of something used by the dead Saint, in opposition to sarīradhātu 'body-relic', i. e. remains of his body.

[3] A certain measure of capacity. See CHILDERS, *P.D.*, s. v.

[4] According to the Abhidhānappadīpikā a ratana or hattha is equal to 2 vidatthi (= $8\frac{1}{2}$–9 inches). See RHYS DAVIDS, *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 15. The total height of the thūpa would accordingly be nearly 180 feet. This is exactly the height of the *main body* of the Ruwanwæli-dagaba without the 'tee'. SMITHER, *Architectural Remains, Anurádhapura*, p. 27 and Plate XXIV.

[5] Cf. 22. 1 foll.

monarch set up here a pillar of stone, whereon he inscribed these sayings.

174 And as the great and most wise thera, Mahinda of wondrous power, accepted the pleasant Mahāmegha-grove, the Tissārāma,
175 he, the unshakeable caused the earth to quake in eight places;[1] and when going his round for alms he had entered the city
176 like unto the ocean and had taken his meal in the king's house, he left the palace, and when, sitting there in the Nandana-grove, he had preached to the people the sutta
177 Aggikkhandhopamā[2] and had made a thousand persons partakers in the fruit of the path (of sanctification) he rested (again) in the Mahāmegha-grove.

178 When the thera had eaten on the third day in the king's house, and sitting in the Nandana-grove had preached the
179 Āsīvisūpamā,[3] and had thereby led a thousand persons to conversion, the thera went thence to the Tissārāma.

180 But the king, who had heard the preaching, seated himself at the thera's feet and asked: 'Does the doctrine of the Conqueror stand, sir?' 'Not yet, O ruler of men, only,
181 O lord of nations, when the boundaries are established[4] here for the uposatha-ceremony and the other acts (of religion), according to the command of the Conqueror, shall the doctrine stand.'

182 Thus spoke the great thera, and the king answered thus: 'I will abide under the Buddha's command, thou Giver of
183 light! Therefore establish the boundaries with all speed, taking in the city.' Thus spoke the great king and the thera
184 answered thus: 'If it be so, then do thou thyself, lord of the earth, mark out the course of the boundary; we will establish
185 it.' 'It is well,' said the lord of the earth, and even like the king of the gods leaving the Nandana[5] (garden) he went forth from the Mahāmeghavanārāma into his palace.

186 When the thera on the fourth day had eaten in the king's house, he preached, sitting in the Nandana-grove, the Ana-

[1] Cf. 15. 25, 28, 31, 33, 37, 45, 47, 55.
[2] Cf. note to 12. 34.
[3] See the note to 12. 26.
[4] Cf. note to 14. 32.
[5] Nandana or Nanda (see 31. 44) is the name of a pleasure-garden in Indra's heaven.

matagga-discourse,[1] and when he had given there a thousand 187 persons to drink of the draught of immortality, the great thera went to the Mahāmeghavanārāma. But having com- 188 manded in the morning to beat the drum and to adorn the splendid city and the road leading to the vihāra and all around the vihāra, the lord of chariots came upon his car to his ārāma, 189 adorned with all his ornaments, together with his ministers and the women of the harem, with chariots, troops and beasts 190 for riders,[2] in a mighty train.

When he had here sought out the theras and paid his respects to these to whom respect was due, he ploughed a 191 furrow in a circle, making it to begin near the ford on the Kadamba-river, and ended it when he (again) reached the river.[3]

When he had assigned boundary-marks on the furrow that 192 the king had ploughed and had assigned the boundaries for thirty-two mālakas and for the Thupārāma, the great thera 193 of lofty wisdom, then fixed the inner boundary-marks likewise according to custom; and thus the ruler (of his senses) 194 did on one and the same day establish all the boundaries. The great earth quaked when the fixing of the boundaries was completed.

When on the fifth day the thera had eaten in the king's 195 house he preached, sitting in the Nandana-grove, the Khajjanīya-suttanta,[4] to a great multitude of people, and when he 196

[1] Note to 12. 31.

[2] The Ṭīkā explains sayoggabalavāhano so: ettha yoggaṃ ti rathasakaṭādi, balaṃ ti senā, vāhane ti hatthiassādi. Cf 25. 1.

[3] On this verse cf. Mah. ed., p. xxxvi. The ford of the Kadamba-river from which the boundary line starts and to which it returns is called in the Ṭīkā Gaṅgalatittha. Instead of the one verse 191 the Sinhalese MSS. have, in all, twenty verses which describe how the king himself guides the plough and in which the different areas marked off are designated. The passage is a later interpolation, drawn chiefly from a Sīmākathā of the Mahāvihāra.

[4] The Khajjanīyavagga from S. III, pp. 81–104. Specially, perhaps, the Sīhasuttanta (XXII. 79) on pp. 86–91.

had given to drink of the ambrosial draught to a thousand persons there, he rested (again) in the Mahāmegha-grove.

197 When also on the sixth day the thera had eaten in the king's house he preached, sitting in the Nandana-grove, the 198 Gomayapiṇḍī-sutta,[1] and after the wise preacher had thus brought a thousand persons to conversion he rested (again) in the Mahāmegha-grove.

199 When on the seventh day the thera had eaten in the king's house he preached, sitting in the Nandana-garden, the 200 Dhammacakkappavattana-suttanta,[2] and having brought a thousand persons to conversion he rested (again) in the 201 Mahāmegha-grove, when he, the light-giver, had in this wise brought eight thousand five hundred persons to conversion in the space of only seven days.

202 The Nandana-grove being the place where the holy one had made the true doctrine to shine forth, is called the Jotivana.[3]

203 And in the very first days the king commanded that a pāsāda be built for the thera in the Tissārāma, and he had the bricks 204 of clay dried speedily with fire. The dwelling-house was dark-coloured and therefore they named it the Kālapāsāda-pariveṇa.[4]

205 Then did he set up a building for the great Bodhi-tree, the 206 Lohapāsāda,[5] a salākā-house,[6] and a seemly refectory. He built many pariveṇas in an excellent manner, and bathing-tanks and buildings for repose, by night and by day, and so

[1] I. e. 'the discourse on the clod of cow-dung.' S. III, p. 143 foll.

[2] Cf. note to 12. 41.

[3] I. e. 'Grove of light.'

[4] I. e. 'Cell of the black house.' On pāsāda see note to 27. 14.

[5] We have here apparently a tradition according to which the Lohapāsāda was built by Devānaṃpiyatissa and not first erected by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. The Ṭīkā explains the passage in this way that Duṭṭhagāmaṇi built his 'House of Bronze' when the old one had been removed.

[6] Food, given as a present to the monastery collectively, is distributed to the monks by tickets or orders called salākā ('slip' of wood, bark, &c.). The building where the distribution takes place, is the salākagga 'salākā-house.' CHILDERS, *P.D.*, s.v. salākā.

forth. The pariveṇa on the brink of the bathing-tank (which 207 was allotted) to the blameless (thera) is called the Sunhāta-pariveṇa.[1] The pariveṇa on the spot where the excellent 208 Light of the Island used to walk up and down is called Dīgha-caṅkamana.[2] But the pariveṇa which was built where he had 209 sat sunk in the meditation[3] that brings the highest bliss is called from this the Phalagga-pariveṇa.[4] The (pariveṇa built there) 210 where the thera had seated himself leaning against a support is called from this the Therāpassaya-pariveṇa.[5] The (pariveṇa 211 built) where many hosts of gods had sought him out and sat at his feet is therefore called the Marugaṇa-pariveṇa.[6] The 212 commander of the king's troops, Dīghasandana, built a little pāsāda for the thera with eight great pillars. This 213 famed pariveṇa, the home of renowned men,[7] is called the Dīghasandasenāpati-pariveṇa.

The wise king, whose name contains the words 'beloved of 214 the gods', patronizing the great thera Mahinda, of spotless mind, first built here in Laṅkā this Mahāvihāra.[8]

Here ends the fifteenth chapter, called 'The Acceptance of the Mahāvihāra', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] I. e. the cell of him who is well-bathed or purified. The nahātapāpo 'who has washed away the evil' is Mahinda, as also is the dīpadīpo in 208.

[2] I. e. the long walk or the long hall for walking. See note to 5. 226.

[3] On the eight samāpatti, i. e. the states of trance reached by samādhi 'meditation', see KERN, *Manual*, p. 57.

[4] I. e. cell of the highest reward.

[5] I. e. cell of the thera's support.

[6] I. e. cell of the hosts of gods.

[7] On this allusion to the author of the Mahāvaṃsa, Mahānāma, see GEIGER, *Dīp. and Mah.* (English ed.), p. 41.

[8] Mahāvihāra, 'the great monastery,' is henceforth the name for the Mahāmeghavanārāma.

CHAPTER XVI

THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE CETIYAPABBATA-VIHĀRA

1 GOING into the city for alms and showing favour to the people (by preaching); eating in the king's house and showing 2 favour to the king (by preaching) the thera dwelt twenty-six days in the Mahāmegha-grove. But when, on the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month Āsāḷha,[1] the lofty-souled 3 (thera) had eaten in the great king's house and had preached 4 (to him) the Mahappamāda-suttanta,[2] he went thence, for he would fain have a vihāra founded on the Cetiya-mountain,[3] departing by the east gate (he went) to the Cetiya-mountain.

5 When the king heard that the thera had gone thither he mounted his car, and taking the two queens with him he 6 followed hard after the thera. When the theras had bathed in the Nāgacatukka-tank[4] they stood in their due order to go 7 up to the mountain-top. Then the king stepped down from the car and stood there respectfully greeting the theras. 'Wherefore, O king, art thou come wearied by the heat?' they said; 8 and on the reply: 'Troubled by your departure am I come,' the theras answered: 'We are come to spend the rain-season 9 even here,' and he who was versed in the rules[5] (of the

[1] See note to 1. 12.

[2] I. e. 'Great discourse on vigilance.' There are several suttas in S., bearing the title appamādasutta. See note to 5. 68.

[3] The later name of the Missaka-mountain, given on account of the many shrines built there. See note to 13. 14.

[4] See note to 14. 36

[5] Lit. who was versed in the khandhas, i. e. the sections of the vinaya (CHILDERS, s. v. vinayo). The vassūpanāyika khandhaka is Mahāvagga III (OLDENBERG, the *Vin. Piṭ.* i, p. 137 foll.; *S.B.E.* xiii, p. 298 foll.). During the rainy season the bhikkhus were forbidden to travel, but used to live together in a vihāra. See KERN, *Manual*, p. 80 foll., on the vassavāsa.

order), expounded to the king the chapter concerning the vassa.

When the king's nephew, the chief minister Mahāriṭṭha, 10 who stood near the king with his fifty-five elder and younger brothers, heard this, after seeking the king's leave, they 11 received the pabbajjā that very day from the thera, and all these wise men attained to arahantship even in the shaving-hall.[1]

When the king, on that same day, had made a beginning 12 with the work of building sixty-eight rock-cells about (the place where) the Kantaka-cetiya (afterwards stood), he 13 returned to the city; but the theras remained in that spot, going at the appointed time, full of compassion (for the people) to the city to beg alms there.

When the work on the rock-cells was finished, on the full- 14 moon day of the month Āsāḷha, the king came and gave the vihāra to the theras as a consecrated offering.

When the thera, who had passed beyond the boundaries (of 15 evil) had established the boundaries for the thirty-two mālakas[2] and the vihāra, then did he on the very same day in the Tumbaru-mālaka, which was marked out as the first of all, 16 confer the upasampadā on all those who were weary of the pabbajjā.[3] And these sixty-two arahants, taking up their 17 abode during the rain-season all together on the Cetiya-mountain, showed favour to the king (by their teaching).

And, in that the hosts of gods and men drew near with 18 reverence to him, the leader of the host (of his disciples), and to his company that had attained to wide renown for virtue, they heaped up great merit.

Her ends the sixteenth chapter, called 'The Acceptance of the Cetiyapabbata-vihāra', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] Where, as is the rule at the admission of bhikkhus, their hair was shaved off. [2] See note to 15. 29.

[3] Pabbajjāpekkhānaṃ stands for pabbajjā-upekkhānaṃ. Mahāriṭṭha and his brothers have only received the pabbajjā or first ordination a few days before (see 11), but they already long for the higher ordination, the upasampadā.

CHAPTER XVII

THE ARRIVAL OF THE RELICS

1 WHEN the great thera of lofty wisdom, after spending the rain-season (thus), had held the pavāraṇā-ceremony,[1] on the full-moon day of the month Kattika,[2] he spoke thus to the
2 king: 'Long is the time, O lord of men, since we have seen the Saṃbuddha. We lived a life without a master. There is
3 nothing here for us to worship.' And to the question: 'Yet hast thou not told me, sir, that the Saṃbuddha is passed into nibbāṇa?' he answered: 'If we behold the relics we behold the
4 Conqueror.' 'My intention to build a thūpa is known to you.
5 I will build the thūpa, and do you discover the relics.' The thera replied to the king: 'Take counsel with Sumana'; and the king said to the sāmaṇera: 'Whence shall we have the
6 relics?' 'O lord of men, when thou hast commanded the adorning of the city and the road and hast taken the uposatha-vows upon thyself[3] together with thy company, go thou, in
7 the evening, mounted on thy state-elephant, bearing the white parasol and attended by musicians,[4] to the Mahānāga-park.
8 There, O king, wilt thou receive relics of him who knew how to destroy the elements of existence,'[5] so said the sāmaṇera Sumana to the (king), glad of heart.

[1] Pavāretvā. On the pavāraṇā-ceremony at the conclusion of vassa see Mahāvagga IV. *Vin. Piṭ.*, ed. OLDENBERG, i, p. 157 foll.; *S.B.E.* xiii, p. 325 foll.

[2] See note to 1. 12.

[3] Uposathī is a synonym of uposathika. The uposatha-vows as kept by laymen consist in 'fasting and abstinence from sensual pleasures' (see CHILDERS, s.v. uposatho).

[4] The Ṭīkā explains tālāvacarasaṃhito by sabbehi tālāvacarehi sahito bherimudiṅgādituriyahatthapurisehi parivārito.

[5] A play on the word dhātu, meaning 'element' (see KERN, *Manual*, p. 51, n. 2), and dhātu 'relic'.

And now the thera went forth from the king's house to the 9 Cetiya-mountain and summoned the sāmaṇera Sumana, bent on holy thoughts.[1] 'Go, friend Sumana, and when thou art 10 come to the fair Pupphapura,[2] deliver to the mighty king, thy grandfather, this charge from us: "Thy friend, O great king, 11 the great king, the friend of the gods,[3] desires, being converted to the doctrine of the Buddha, to build a thūpa; do thou give 12 him the relics of the Sage and the alms-bowl that the Master used, for many relics of the (Buddha's) body are with thee." When thou hast received the alms-bowl full (of relics) go to 13 the fair city of the gods and declare to Sakka, king of the gods, this charge from us: "The relic, the right eye-tooth of 14 the (Buddha), worthy of the adoration of the three worlds, is with thee, O king of the gods, and the relic of the right collar-bone. Honour thou the tooth; the collar-bone of the 15 Master do thou give away. Grow not weary of thy duty toward the isle of Laṅkā, O lord of the gods!"'

And the sāmaṇera of wondrous power, replying: 'So be it, 16 sir,' went, that very moment, to the king Dhammāsoka and 17 found him even as he stood at the foot of a sāla-tree and honoured the beautiful and sacred Bodhi-tree with the offerings of the Kattika-festival.

When he had delivered the thera's charge and had accepted 18 the alms-bowl full of relics received from the king he went to the Himalaya. When, on the Himaḷaya, he had set down that 19 most sacred bowl with the relics, he went to the king of the gods and delivered the thera's charge.

Sakka, the lord of the gods, took from the Cūḷāmaṇi-cetiya[4] 20 the right collar-bone (of the Buddha) and gave it to the sāmaṇera. Thereupon the ascetic Sumana took the relic and 21 the bowl with the relics likewise and returning to the Cetiya-mountain he handed them to the thera.

[1] Play on the name Sumana and su-manogati. Wijesinha translates the surname 'whose mind was well-disposed to the work that was to be confided to him'. For the rendering in the Ṭīkā see Mah. ed., note on this passage.

[2] See note to 4. 31.

[3] Maruppiya, a synonym of Devānampiya.

[4] A sacred shrine supposed to be erected in the heaven of gods.

22 In the evening the king, at the head of the royal troops, went to the Mahānāga-park, in the manner (already) told.
23 The thera put all the relics down there on the mountain, and therefore the Missaka-mountain was called the Cetiya-mountain.

24 When the thera had put the vessel with the relics on the Cetiya-mountain, he took the collar-bone relic and went with his company of disciples to the appointed place.

25 'If this is a relic of the Sage then shall my parasol bow down, of itself, my elephant shall sink upon its knees, this
26 relic-urn, coming (toward me) with the relic shall descend upon my head.' So thought the king, and as he thought so
27 it came to pass. And as if sprinkled with ambrosia the monarch was full of joy, and taking (the urn) from his head he set it on the back of the elephant.

28 Then did the elephant trumpet joyfully and the earth quaked. And the elephant turned about and having entered
29 the fair city by the east gate, together with the theras and the troops and vehicles, and having left it again by the south
30 gate he went to the building of the Great Sacrifice set up[1] to the west of the spot where (afterwards) the cetiya of the Thūpārāma[2] was; and when he had turned around on the place
31 of the Bodhi-tree he remained standing, his head turned toward the east.

But at that time the place of the thūpa was covered with flowering kadamba-plants and ādāri-creepers.[3]

32 When the god among men had caused this holy place, protected by the gods, to be cleared and adorned, he began forth-
33 with, in seemly wise, to take the relic down from the

[1] Evidently the mahejjāghara mentioned in 10. 90. There, as here, the Sinhalese MSS. have pabheda instead of mahejjā.

[2] The thūpa of the Thūpārāma, the erection of which is described in our passage, is situated near the southern wall of the city in the Nandana-garden. Cf. note to 1. 82.

[3] This creeper is mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa in five places, besides the above passage: 19. 73, 33. 85, 35. 104: kadambapupphagumba; 25. 48: kadambapupphavalli; 35. 116: kadambapupphaṭhāna. For ādāri I would refer to the Skt. names of plants, ādāra and ādāribimbī.

elephant's back. But this the elephant would not suffer, and the king asked the thera what he wished. And the other 34 answered: 'He would fain have (them) put in a place that is equal (in height) to his back; therefore will he not suffer them to be taken down.'

Then with lumps of dry clay that he had commanded to be 35 brought [1] straightway from the dried Abhaya-tank [2] he raised a pile even as (high as the elephant), and when the king had 36 caused this high-standing place to be adorned in manifold ways and had caused the relic to be taken down from the back of the elephant, he placed it there.

(Then) having entrusted the elephant with the guarding of 37 the relic and having left him there, the king, whose heart was set on building a thūpa for the relic, and who speedily com- 38 manded many people to make bricks, went back with his ministers to the city meditating (to hold) a solemn festival for the relic. But the great thera Mahinda went with his company of 39 disciples to the beautiful Mahāmegha-grove and rested there.

During the night the elephant paced around the place with 40 the relic; through the day he stood with the relic in the hall on the spot (destined) for the Bodhi-tree. When the 41 monarch, obedient to the thera's wish, had built up [3] the thūpa knee-high above that (brick-)work and had caused the (festival 42 of the) laying down of the relic to be proclaimed in that same place, he went thither and from this region and that, from every side a multitude assembled there.

Amid this assembly the relic rose up in the air from the 43 elephant's back, and floating in the air plain to view, at the height of seven tālas, throwing the people into amazement, 44

[1] Read ānāpetvā, as in good MSS., instead of āṇāpetvā.

[2] See note to 10. 84.

[3] According to the MSS. cināpetvā should be read, not khanāpetvā (TURNOUR). The sense is as follows: The original brickwork, as described in v. 35, remains standing. Its surface forms the base for the relic-chamber. Round about and from this the building of the thūpa is continued knee-high (jaṅghāmatta) so as to be finished in the shape of a hemisphere, after the placing of the relic in the chamber thus formed.

it wrought that miracle of the double appearances,[1] that caused the hair (of the beholders) to stand on end, even as (did)
45 the Buddha under the Gaṇḍamba-tree. By the rays of light and streams of water pouring down therefrom was the whole land of Laṅkā illumined and flooded again and again.

46 When the Conqueror lay stretched upon the couch of the great nibbāṇa the five great resolutions were formed by him, who was endowed with the five eyes.[2]

47 'The south branch of the great Bodhi-tree, grasped by Asoka, being detached of itself, shall place itself in a vase.
48 When it is so placed the branch, illumining all the regions of the world, shall put forth lovely rays of six colours from its
49 fruits and leaves. Then, rising up with the golden vase, this delightful (tree) shall abide invisible for seven days in the
50 region of snow. My right collar-bone, if it be laid in the Thūpārāma, shall rise in the air and perform the miracle of
51 the double appearances. If my pure relics, filling a doṇa-measure, are laid in the Hemamālika-cetiya, that ornament of
52 Laṅkā, they shall take the form of the Buddha, and rising and floating in the air, they shall take their place after having wrought the miracle of the double appearances.'

53 Thus did the Tathāgata form five resolutions and therefore
54 was the miracle then wrought by the relic. Coming down from the air it rested on the head of the monarch, and full of
55 joy the king laid it in the cetiya. So soon as the relic was laid in the cetiya a wondrous great earthquake came to pass,
56 causing a thrill (of awe). Thus are the Buddhas incomprehensible, and incomprehensible is the nature of the Buddhas, and incomprehensible is the reward of those who have faith in the incomprehensible.

[1] This yamakaṃ pāṭihāriyaṃ is mentioned again 30. 82 (ambamūle pāṭihīraṃ) and 31. 99. The reference is to the miracle performed by the Buddha in Sāvatthī, to refute the heretical teachers (cf. Samanta-pāsādika, OLDENBERG, *Vin. Piṭ.* iii, p. 332[16]). It consisted in the appearance of phenomena of opposite character in pairs, as for example, streaming forth of fire and water. This same miracle was performed by the Buddha repeatedly. (FAUSBÖLL, *Jātaka*, i, p. 77[22], 88[20].)

[2] Cf. note to 3. 1.

When the people saw the miracle they had faith in the Conqueror. But the prince Mattābhaya, the king's younger brother, who had faith in the King of Sages, begged leave of the king of men and received the pabbajjā of the doctrine with a thousand of his followers. 57 58

And from Cetāvigāma and also from Dvāramaṇḍala[1] and also from Vihārabīja, even as from Gallakapīṭha and from Upatissagāma,[2] from each of these there received gladly the pabbajjā five hundred young men in whom faith in the Tathāgata had been awakened. 59 60

So all these who, (coming) from within the city and without (the city), had received the pabbajjā of the Conqueror's doctrine now numbered thirty thousand bhikkhus. 61

When the ruler of the earth had completed the beautiful thūpa in the Thūpārāma he caused it to be worshipped perpetually with gifts of many jewels and so forth. The women of the royal household, the nobles, ministers, townspeople, and also all the country-folk brought each their offerings. 62 63

And here the king founded a vihāra, the thūpa of which had been built before; for that reason this vihāra was known by the name Thūpārāma. 64

Thus by these relics of his body the Master of the World, being already passed into nibbāna, truly bestowed salvation and bliss in abundance on mankind. How can there be discourse (of this, as it was) when the Conqueror yet lived? 65

Here ends the seventeenth chapter, called 'The Arrival of the Relics', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] See note to 10. 1. [2] See note to 7. 44.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE RECEIVING OF THE GREAT BODHI-TREE

1 THE monarch remembered the word spoken by the thera, that he should send for the great Bodhi-tree and the therī, 2 and when, on a certain day during the rain-season, he was sitting in his own city with the thera and had taken counsel 3 with his ministers he entrusted his own nephew, his minister named Ariṭṭha, with this business.

When he had pondered (on the matter) and had sum-4 moned him he spoke to him in these words: 'Canst thou perchance, my dear, go to Dhammāsoka to bring hither the great 5 Bodhi-tree and the therī Saṃghamittā?' 'I can bring them hither, your majesty, if I be allowed, when I am come back, to receive the pabbajjā, O most exalted!'

6 'So be it,' answered the king and sent him thence. When he had received the command of the thera and the king and 7 had taken his leave he set forth on the second day of the bright half of the month Assayuja,[1] and having embarked, 8 filled with zeal (for his mission) at the haven Jambukola and having passed over the great ocean he came, by the power of the thera's will, to the pleasant Pupphapura[2] even on the day of his departure.

9 The queen Anulā, who, with five hundred maidens and five 10 hundred women of the royal harem had accepted the ten precepts,[3] did (meanwhile) pious as she was, (wearing) the

[1] See note to 1. 12.

[2] See note to 4. 31.

[3] Dasasīlaṃ. These are the precepts: (1) not to kill any living being, (2) to refrain from taking the property of others, (3) not to commit adultery, (4) to avoid lying, (5) to drink no intoxicating drink, (6) only to take food at certain prescribed hours, (7) to avoid worldly amusements, (8) to use neither unguents nor ornaments, (9) not to sleep on a high or decorated bed, (10) not to accept any gold or silver. There are also frequent references to the five or eight pledges which

yellow robe, waiting for the pabbajjā, in discipline, looking for the coming of the therī, take up her abode, leading a holy life, 11 in the pleasant nunnery built by the king in a certain part of the city. Since the nunnery was inhabited by these lay- 12 sisters it became known in Laṅkā by the name Upāsikā-vihāra.[1]

When the nephew Mahāriṭṭha had delivered the king's 13 message to the king Dhammāsoka he gave him (also) the thera's message: 'The spouse of the brother of thy friend, of the 14 king (Devānaṃpiya), O thou elephant among kings, lives, longing for the pabbajjā, constantly in stern discipline. To be- 15 stow on her the pabbajjā do thou send the bhikkhunī Saṃghamittā and with her the south branch of the great Bodhi-tree.'

And the same matter, even as the thera had charged him, 16 he told the therī; the therī went to her father (Asoka) and told him the thera's purpose.

The king said: 'How shall I, when I no longer behold thee, 17 dear one, master the grief aroused by the parting with son and grandson?'[2]

She answered: 'Weighty is the word of my brother, O 18 great king; many are they that must receive the pabbajjā; therefore must I depart thither.' 'The great Bodhi-trees 19 must not be injured with a knife, how then can I have a branch!' mused the king. Then when he, following the 20 counsel of his minister Mahādeva, had invited the community of bhikkhus and had shown them hospitality the monarch asked: 'Shall the great Bodhi-tree be sent to Laṅkā, sirs?' 21

The thera Moggaliputta answered: 'It shall be sent thither,' and he related to the king the five great resolutions that the 22 (Buddha) gifted with the five eyes had formed.[3]

one may take on oneself. These are the first five or eight respectively of the above series. For members of the order the third precept is more rigorous, since sexual intercourse must be avoided altogether. See note on 1. 62.

[1] I. e. 'Vihāra of the lay-sisters.'

[2] That is, from Mahinda and Sumana, the son of Saṃghamittā and Aggibrahmā (5. 170; 13. 4, &c.).

[3] See 17. 46 foll.

23 When the ruler of the earth heard this he was glad, and when he had caused the road, seven yojanas long, leading to the great Bodhi-tree to be carefully cleaned he adorned it in 24 manifold ways, and gold he caused to be brought to make ready a vase. Vissakamma,[1] who appeared in the semblance of 25 a goldsmith, asked: 'How large shall I make the vase?' Then being answered: 'Thyself deciding the size do thou 26 make it,' he took the gold, and having moulded it with his hand he made a vase in that very moment and departed thence.

27 When the king had received the beautiful vase measuring nine cubits[2] around and five cubits in depth and three cubits 28 across, being eight finger-breadths thick, having the upper edge of the size of a young elephant's trunk, being in radiancy 29 equal to the young (morning) sun; when, with his army of four divisions[3] stretching to a length of seven yojanas and a width of three yojanas, and with a great company of 30 bhikkhus, he had gone to the great Bodhi-tree, decked with manifold ornaments, gleaming with various jewels and gar- 31 landed with many coloured flags;[4] when he, moreover, had ranged his troops about (the tree), bestrewn with manifold flowers and resounding with many kinds of music and had 32 covered it round with a tent; when in seemly wise he had surrounded himself and the great Bodhi-tree with a thousand great theras at the head of a great company (of bhikkhus) and with more than a thousand princes who had been 33 anointed as king, he gazed up with folded hands at the great Bodhi-tree.

34 Then from its south bough the branches vanished, leaving a stump four cubits long.

[1] The God of skill; Skt. Viśvakarman.

[2] See note to 15. 16.

[3] Caturaṅginī senā, consisting of foot-soldiers, cavalry, combatants in chariots, and elephants.

[4] On the world-wide custom of decking out sacred trees with gay strips of stuff see ANDRÉE, *Ethnogr. Parallelen und Vergleiche*, p. 58 foll. Concerning such a 'Lappenbaum' on the Terrace of the Ruwanwæli-dagaba in Anurādhapura, see GEIGER, *Ceylon*, p. 181.

When the ruler of the earth saw the miracle he cried out, 35 rejoicing: 'I worship the great Bodhi-tree by bestowing kingship (thereon),' and the monarch consecrated the great 36 Bodhi-tree as king of his great realm. When he had worshipped the great Bodhi-tree with gifts of flowers and so forth, and had passed round it three times turning to the left[1] and had done reverence to it at eight points[2] with 37 folded hands, he had the golden vase placed upon a seat inlaid with gold, adorned with various gems and easy to 38 mount, reaching to the height of the bough; and when, in order to receive the sacred branch, he had mounted upon it, grasping a pencil of red arsenic with a golden handle he drew 39 (with this) a line about the bough and uttered the solemn declaration:[3]

'So truly as the great Bodhi-tree shall go hence to the 40 isle of Laṅkā, and so truly as I shall stand unalterably firm in the doctrine of the Buddha, shall this fair south branch of 41 the great Bodhi-tree, severed of itself, take its place here in this golden vase.'

Then the great Bodhi-tree severed, of itself, at the place 42 where the line was, floating above the vase filled with fragrant earth. Above the line first (drawn) the ruler of men drew, 43 at (a distance of) three finger-breadths, round about ten (further) pencil-strokes. And ten strong roots springing from 44 the first and ten slender from each of the other (lines) dropped down, forming a net.

When the king saw this miracle he uttered even there, 45 greatly gladdened, a cry of joy, and with him his followers all around and the community of bhikkhus raised, with glad 46

[1] Tipadakkhiṇaṃ katvā, i.e. had walked round it in such a manner that the thing or person worshipped is kept on the right hand.

[2] I.e. at the four cardinal points, E., N., &c., as well as the intermediate points, NE., NW., &c.

[3] The conception of the saccakiriyā, lit. 'effect of the truth,' is hardly to be rendered in a translation. Beside the declaration it includes a wish. The saccakiriyā is always given in this form: *if* or *so truly as* such and such is the case shall such and such a thing come to pass. See CHILDERS, *P. D.*, s.v.

hearts, cries of salutation and round about was a thousandfold waving of stuffs.

47 Thus with a hundred roots the great Bodhi-tree set itself there in the fragrant earth, converting the people to the 48 faith. Ten cubits long was the stem; five lovely branches (were thereon), each four cubits long and (each) adorned with 49 five fruits, and on these branches were a thousand twigs. Such was the ravishing and auspicious great Bodhi-tree.

50 At the moment that the great Bodhi-tree set itself in the vase the earth quaked and wonders of many kinds came to 51 pass. By the resounding of the instruments of music (which gave out sound) of themselves among gods and men, by the ringing-out of the shout of salutation from the hosts of devas 52 and brahmas,[1] by the crash of the clouds, (the voices) of beasts and birds, of the yakkhas and so forth and by the crash 53 of the quaking of the earth all was in one tumult. Beautiful[2] rays of six colours going forth from the fruits and leaves of 54 the Bodhi-tree made the whole universe to shine. Then rising in the air with the vase the great Bodhi-tree stayed for seven days invisible in the region of the snow.

55 The king came down from his seat and sojourning there for seven days he continually brought offerings in many ways 56 to the great Bodhi-tree. When the week was gone by all the snow-clouds and all the rays likewise entered into the 57 great Bodhi-tree, and in the clear atmosphere the glorious great Bodhi-tree was displayed to the whole people, planted 58 in the golden vase. Whilst wonders of many kinds came to pass the great Bodhi-tree, plunging mankind into amazement, descended on the earth.

59 Rejoiced by the many wonders the great king worshipped again the great Bodhi-tree by (bestowing on it) his great 60 kingdom, and, when he had consecrated the great Bodhi-tree unto great kingship he abode, worshipping it with divers offerings, yet another week in that same place.

61 In the bright half of the month Assayuja on the fifteenth uposatha-day he received the great Bodhi-tree; two weeks

[1] I.e. gods of lower and higher rank.

[2] Cf. on 53-54 the prophecy in 17. 48, 49.

after in the dark half of the month Assayuja on the four- 62
teenth-uposatha day the lord of chariots brought the great
Bodhi-tree, having placed it on a beautiful car on the same 63
day, amid offerings, to his capital; and when he had built
a beautiful hall (for it) adorned in manifold ways, and there 64
on the first day of the bright half of the month Kattika had
caused the great Bodhi-tree to be placed on the east side of
the foot of a beautiful and great sāla-tree, he allotted to it 65
day by day many offerings. But on the seventeenth day
after the receiving (of the tree) new shoots appeared on it all 66
at once; therefore, rejoicing, the lord of men once more wor-
shipped the great Bodhi-tree by bestowing kingship upon it.
When the great ruler had consecrated the great Bodhi- 67
tree unto kingship he appointed a festival of offerings in
divers forms for the great Bodhi-tree.

So it came to pass that the festival of adoration of the 68
great Bodhi-tree, vivid with gay and lovely flags, great,
brilliant and splendid, in the city of flowers, opened the hearts
of gods and men (to the faith) (even as) in the lake the sun
(opens the lotuses).[1]

Here ends the eighteenth chapter, called 'The Receiving of
the Great Bodhi-tree', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the
serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] The festival of the Bodhi-tree is compared to the sun (saraṃsā), the city of flowers, i.e. Pāṭaliputta, to the lake (saras), and the hearts of gods and men to the lotus-flowers, growing in the lake.

CHAPTER XIX

THE COMING OF THE BODHI-TREE

1 WHEN the lord of chariots had appointed to watch over the Bodhi-tree eighteen persons[1] from royal families and eight 2 from families of ministers, and moreover eight persons from brahman families and eight from families of traders and persons from the cowherds likewise, and from the hyena 3 and sparrowhawk-clans,[2] (from each one man), and also from the weavers and potters and from all the handicrafts, from 4 the nāgas and the yakkhas; when then the most exalted prince had given them eight vessels of gold and eight of silver,[3] and had brought the great Bodhi-tree to a ship on the 5 Ganges, and likewise the therī Saṃghamittā with eleven bhikkhunīs, and when he had caused those among whom 6 Ariṭṭha was first to embark on that same ship, he fared forth from the city, and passing over the Viñjhā-mountains the prince arrived, in just one week, at Tāmalittī.[4]

7 The gods also and the nāgas and men who were worshipping the great Bodhi-tree with the most splendid offerings, arrived 8 in just one week. The ruler of the earth, who had caused the great Bodhi-tree to be placed on the shore of the great

[1] In devakula the word deva is evidently to be taken in the sense of 'king', and merely as a synonym of khattiya. Kula means here, as below in 30 and 31, the individual belonging to a class or craft.

[2] Taraccha (= Skt. tarakṣa) 'hyena', and kuliṅga (=Skt. kuliṅga), the name of a bird of prey, the 'fork-tailed shrike', seem here to designate certain clans or crafts. Perhaps the names have a totemistic origin. FRAZER, *Totemism*, p. 3 foll.

[3] To water the tree during the journey.

[4] The king travels by land over the Vindhyā range to the mouth of the Ganges. Here he again meets the ship carrying the Bodhi-tree and its escort. On Tāmalittī, see note to 11. 38.

ocean, worshipped it once more by (bestowing upon it) the great kingship.

When the wish-fulfiller had consecrated the great Bodhi-tree as a great monarch, he then, on the first day of the bright half of the month Maggasira,[1] commanded that the same noble persons, eight of each (of the families) appointed at the foot of the great sāla-tree to escort[2] the great Bodhi-tree, should raise up the great Bodhi-tree; and, descending there into the water till it reached his neck, he caused it to be set down in seemly wise on the ship. When he had brought the great therī with the (other) therīs on to the ship he spoke these words to the chief minister Mahāriṭṭha: 'Three times have I worshipped the great Bodhi-tree by (bestowing) kingship (upon it). Even so shall the king my friend also worship it by (bestowing) kingship (upon it).' 9 10 11 12 13

When the great king had spoken thus he stood with folded hands on the shore, and as he gazed after the vanishing great Bodhi-tree he shed tears. 'Sending forth a net like rays of sunshine the great Bodhi-tree of the (Buddha) gifted with the ten powers[3] departs, alas! from hence!' 14 15

Filled with sorrow at parting from the great Bodhi-tree Dhammāsoka returned weeping and lamenting to his capital. 16

The ship, laden with the great Bodhi-tree, fared forth into the sea. A yojana around the waves of the great ocean were stilled. Lotus-flowers of the five colours blossomed all around and manifold instruments of music resounded in the air. 17 18

By many devatās many offerings were provided, and the nāgas practised their magic to win the great Bodhi-tree. The great therī Saṃghamittā, who had reached the last goal of supernormal powers, taking the form of a griffin[4] terrified 19 20

[1] See note to 1. 12.

[2] Uccāretuṃ mahābodhiṃ is dependent on dinnehi. The passage is related directly to 19. 1, Mahābodhirakkhaṇatthaṃ datvāna.

[3] Cf. note to 3. 6.

[4] The supaṇṇā (Skt. suparṇa) or garuḷā (Skt. garuḍa) are mythical creatures who are imagined as winged and are always considered as the sworn foes of the nāgas. See GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhist. Kunst in Indien*, p. 47 foll.

21 the great snakes. Terrified, the great snakes betook them to the great therī with entreaties, and when they had escorted the great Bodhi-tree from thence to the realm of the serpents
22 and had worshipped it for a week by (bestowing on it) the kingship of the nāgas and by manifold offerings they brought
23 it again and set it upon the ship. And on that same day the great Bodhi-tree arrived here [1] at Jambukola.

King Devānampiyatissa, thoughtful for the welfare of the
24 world, having heard before from the sāmaṇera Sumana of its arrival, did, from the first day of the month Maggasira on-
25 wards, being always full of zeal, cause the whole of the high-road from the north gate even to Jambukola to be made
26 ready, awaiting the arrival of the great Bodhi-tree, and abiding on the sea-shore, in the place where the Samuddapaṇṇasālā [2] (afterwards) was, he, by the wondrous power of the therī, saw the great Bodhi-tree coming.

27 The hall that was built upon that spot to make known this miracle was known here by the name Samuddapaṇṇasālā.

28 By the power of the great thera and together with the (other) theras the king came, with his retinue, on that same day to Jambukola.[3]

29 Then, uttering [4] an exulting cry moved by joyous agitation at the coming of the great Bodhi-tree, he, the splendid (king),
30 descended even neck-deep into the water; and when together with sixteen persons [5] (of noble families) he had taken the great Bodhi-tree upon his head, had lifted it down upon the

[1] I.e. in Ceylon.

[2] I.e. the sea-hut.

[3] In the reading of the text accepted by the Colombo Editors **tadahe va mahārājā**, the verb is missing from the sentence. Only the text of the Burmese MSS. **tadahe vāgamā rājā** yields a correct construction.

[4] **Udānayaṃ.** By **udāna** is understood an utterance, mostly in metrical form, inspired by a particularly intense emotion, whether it be joyous or sorrowful. The **udāna** of Devānampiyatissa in the circumstances described was according to the Ṭīkā: **āgato vata re dasabalassa saraṃsijālavisajjanako bodhirukkho**, an exact parallel to v. 15.

[5] **Kulehi.** Cf. on this note to 19. 1.

shore and caused it to be set in a beautiful pavilion, the king 31 of Laṅkā worshipped it by (bestowing on it) the kingship of Laṅkā. When he had then entrusted his own government to the sixteen persons and he himself had taken the 32 duties of a doorkeeper, the lord of men forthwith commanded solemn ceremonies of many kinds to be carried out for three days.

On the tenth day he placed the great Bodhi-tree upon 33 a beautiful car and he, the king of men, accompanying this, the king of trees, he who had knowledge of the (right) places 34 caused it to be placed on the spot where the Eastern Monastery (afterwards) was and commanded a morning meal for the people together with the brotherhood. Here the great thera 35 Mahinda related fully to the king the subduing of the nāgas[1] which had been achieved by the (Buddha) gifted with the ten powers.

When the monarch heard this from the thera he caused 36 monuments to be raised here and there in such places as had been frequented by the Master by resting there or in other ways. And, moreover, when he had caused the great Bodhi- 37 tree to be set down at the entrance to the village of the brahman Tivakka and in this and that place besides, he, (escorting it) on the road, sprinkled with white sand, bestrewn 38 with various flowers, and adorned with planted pennons and festoons of blossoms, bringing thereto offerings unweariedly, 39 day and night, brought the great Bodhi-tree on the fourteenth day to the neighbourhood of the city of Anurādhapura, and 40 after, at the time when the shadows increase, he had entered the city worthily adorned by the north gate amid offerings, and (when he then), leaving the city again by the south gate, 41 had entered the Mahāmeghavanārāma consecrated by four Buddhas,[2] and here had brought (the tree) to the spot worthily 42 prepared by Sumana's command, to the lovely place where the former Bodhi-trees had stood, he, with those sixteen noble 43

[1] The reference is to the second visit of the Buddha to Ceylon, and the events related in Mah. I. 44–70.

[2] The comma after pavesiya in Mah. ed. v. 41^b should be struck out and placed after catubuddhanisevitaṃ.

persons, who were wearing royal ornaments, lifted down the great Bodhi-tree and loosed his hold to set it down.

44 Hardly had he let it leave his hands but it rose up eighty cubits into the air, and floating thus it sent forth glorious 45 rays of six colours. Spreading over the island, reaching to 46 the Brahma-world, these lovely rays lasted till sunset. Ten thousand persons, who were filled with faith by reason of this miracle, gaining the spiritual insight and attaining to arahantship, received here the pabbajjā.

47 When the great Bodhi-tree at sunset was come down from (its place in the air) it stood firm on the earth under the 48 constellation Rohiṇī. Then did the earth quake. The roots growing over the brim of the vase struck down into the earth, 49 closing in the vase. When the great Bodhi-tree had taken its place all the people who had come together from (the country) round, worshipped it with offerings of perfumes, 50 flowers and so forth. A tremendous cloud poured forth rain, and cool and dense mists from the snow-region surrounded 51 the great Bodhi-tree on every side. Seven days did the great Bodhi-tree abide there, awaking faith among the people 52 invisible in the region of the snow. At the end of the week all the clouds vanished and the great Bodhi-tree became visible and the rays of six colours.

53 The great thera Mahinda and the bhikkhuṇī Saṃghamittā went thither with their following and the king also with his 54 following. The nobles of Kājaragāma[1] and the nobles of Candanagāma and the Brahman Tivakka and the people too 55 who dwelt in the island came thither also by the power of the gods, (with minds) eagerly set upon a festival of the great Bodhi-tree. Amid this great assembly, plunged into amaze- 56 ment by this miracle, there grew out of the east branch, even as they gazed, a faultless fruit.

This having fallen off the thera took it up and gave it 57 to the king to plant. In a golden vase filled with earth mingled with perfumes, placed on the spot where the

[1] Now Kataragama on the Menik-ganga, about ten miles north of Tissamahārāma in the province of Rohaṇa. See PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 114 foll.

Mahāāsana (afterwards) was, the ruler planted it. And while 58 they all yet gazed, there grew, springing from it, eight shoots; and they stood there, young Bodhi-trees four cubits high.

When the king saw the young Bodhi-trees he, with senses 59 all amazed, worshipped them by the gift of a white parasol[1] and bestowed royal consecration on them.

Of the eight Bodhi-saplings one was planted at the landing- 60 place Jambukola on the spot where the great Bodhi-tree had stood, after leaving the ship, one in the village of the 61 Brahman Tivakka, one moreover in the Thūpārāma, one in the Issarasamaṇārāma,[2] one in the Court of the First thūpa,[3] one in the ārāma of the Cetiya-mountain, one in Kājara- 62 gāma and one in Candanagāma. But the other thirty-two 63 Bodhi-saplings which sprang[4] from four (later) fruits (were planted) in a circle, at a distance of a yojana, here and there in the vihāras.

When thus, for the salvation of the people dwelling in the 64 island, by the majesty of the Sammāsaṃbuddha, the king of trees, the great Bodhi-tree was planted, Anulā with her 65 following having received the pabbajjā from the therī Saṃghamittā, attained to arahantship. The prince Ariṭṭha also, 66 with a retinue of five hundred men, having received the pabbajjā from the thera, attained to arahantship. The eight 67 (persons from the) merchant-guilds who had brought the great Bodhi-tree hither were named therefrom the 'Guild of the Bodhi-bearers'.

In the nunnery, which is known as the Upāsikāvihāra[5] 68

[1] Setacchatta, as symbol of royal rank.

[2] According to the Rasavāhinī (ed. Saraṇatissatthera, Colombo, 1901, 1899), ii. 88[32], situated on the dam of the Tissavāpi, now Issurumunagala, about a mile south of the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura.

[3] Paṭhamacetiya. See note to 14. 45.

[4] This is to be taken as meaning that on four other branches of the tree the same miracle was accomplished as already described. Thus the Ṭīkā also says: pācīnasākhato avasesāsu ca catūsu sākhāsu gahitehi itarehi pakkaphalehi jātā, saṃbhūtā uppannā ti attho.

[5] Cf. 18. 12.

the great therī Saṃghamittā dwelt with her company (of
69 nuns). She caused twelve buildings to be erected there, of
which three buildings were important before others; in one
70 of these great buildings she caused the mast of the ship that
had come with the great Bodhi-tree to be set up, in one the
rudder, and in one the helm,[1] from these they were named.
71 Also when other sects[2] arose these twelve buildings were
always used by the Hatthāḷhaka-bhikkhunīs.

72 The king's state-elephant that was used to wander about at
73 will[3] liked to stay on one side of the city in a cool grotto, on
the border of a Kadamba-flower-thicket, when he went to feed.
Since they knew that this place was pleasing to the elephant
74 they put up a post[4] in the same spot. One day the elephant
would not take the fodder (offered to him) and the king
questioned the thera who had converted the island as to the
75 reason. 'The elephant would fain have a thūpa built in the
76 Kadamba-flower-thicket,' the great thera told the great king.
Swiftly did the king, who was ever intent on the welfare of
his people, build a thūpa, with a relic, in that very place and
a house for the thūpa.[5]

77 The great therī Saṃghamittā, who longed for a quiet
dwelling-place, because of the too great crowding of the
78 vihāra where she dwelt, she who was mindful for the progress
of the doctrine and the good of the bhikkhunīs, the wise one
79 who desired another abode for the bhikkhunīs went (once) to
the fair cetiya-house, pleasant by its remoteness, and there she

[1] Kūpayaṭṭhi, piya, aritta. According to the Ṭīkā the three agārāni bore the names Cūlagaṇāgāra, Mahāgaṇāgāra and Sirivaḍḍhāgāra. They were afterwards designated Kupayaṭṭhiṭhapitaghara (Piyaṭhapitaghara, Arittaṭhapitaghara), 'House where the mast and so forth is set up.'

[2] The Ṭīkā names as an example the sect of the Dhammarucikas. Cf. 5. 13.

[3] The episode is to explain how the dwellers in the Upāsikāvihāra came by the name Hatthāḷhaka (i.e. 'elephant-post-nuns'), mentioned by the poet in v. 71.

[4] Āḷhaka, to tether the elephant during the night.

[5] Thūpassa gharaṃ, thūpagharaṃ, or cetiyagharaṃ, as in v. 79, 82. See Appendix, s.v. thūpa.

the skilled (in choice) of dwelling-places, the blameless, stayed the day through.

When the king came to the convent for bhikkhuṇīs to 80 salute the therī, he, hearing that she had gone thither, went also and when he had greeted her there and talked with her 81 and had heard the wish that was the cause of her going thither, then did he, who was skilled in (perceiving) the desires (of others), the wise, the great monarch Devānampiya- 82 tissa, order to be erected a pleasing convent for the bhikkhuṇīs round about the thūpa-house. Since the convent for 83 the bhikkhuṇīs was built near to the elephant-post therefore was it known by the name Hatthāḷhaka-vihāra.

The well-beloved, the great therī Saṃghamittā of lofty 84 wisdom now took up her abode in this pleasing convent for bhikkhuṇīs.

Bringing about in such wise the good of the dwellers in 85 Laṅkā, the progress of the doctrine, the king of trees, the great Bodhi-tree, lasted long time on the island of Laṅkā, in the pleasant Mahāmegha-grove, endowed with many wondrous powers.

Here ends the nineteenth chapter, called 'The Coming of the Bodhi-tree', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XX

THE NIBBĀṆA OF THE THERA

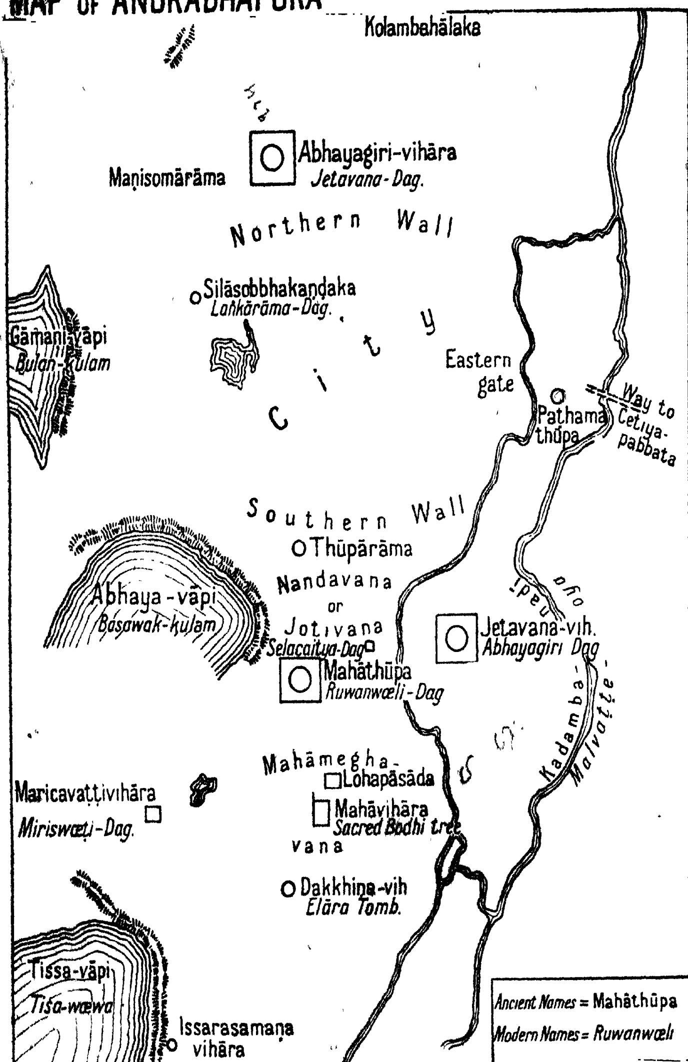
1 In the eighteenth year (of the reign) of king Dhammāsoka, the great Bodhi-tree was planted in the Mahāmeghavanārāma.
2 In the twelfth year afterwards died the dear consort of the king, Asaṃdhimittā, the faithful (believer) in the Saṃbuddha.
3 In the fourth year after this the ruler of the earth Dhammāsoka raised the treacherous Tissarakkhā to the rank of queen.
4 In the third year thereafter this fool, in the pride of her beauty, with the thought: 'Forsooth, the king worships
5 the great Bodhi-tree to my cost!' drawn into the power of hate and working her own harm, caused the great Bodhi-tree
6 to perish by means of a maṇḍu-thorn.[1] In the fourth year after did Dhammāsoka of high renown fall into the power of mortality. These make up thirty-seven years.

7 But when king Devānaṃpiyatissa, whose delight was in the blessing of the true doctrine, had brought to completion
8 in seemly wise his undertakings in the Mahāvihāra, on the Cetiya-mountain and also in the Thūpārāma, he asked this question of the thera who had converted the island, who was
9 skilled in (answering) questions: 'Sir, I would fain found many vihāras here; whence shall I get me the relics to place in the thūpas?'

10 'There are the relics brought hither by Sumana, with which he filled the bowl of the Saṃbuddha and which were placed
11 here on the Cetiya-mountain, O king. Have these relics placed on the back of an elephant and brought hither.' Thus addressed
12 by the thera he brought thus the relics hither. Founding vihāras a yojana distant from one another he caused the relics

[1] In the Dadhivāhana-jātaka (FAUSBÖLL, *Jātaka*, ii, p. 105[1]) is related how the kernel of a mango-fruit is deprived of its germinating power by being pierced with a maṇḍu-thorn.

MAP OF ANURADHAPURA



to be placed there in the thūpas, in due order. But the bowl 13 that the Sambuddha had used the king kept in his beautiful palace and worshipped continually with manifold offerings.

The (vihāra that was built) in the place where the five 14 hundred nobles dwelt when they had received the pabbajjā from the great thera,[1] was (named) Issarasamaṇaka.[2] That 15 (vihāra that was built) where five hundred vessas[3] dwelt, when they had received the pabbajjā from the great thera, was (called) in like manner Vessagiri. But as for the grotto 16 inhabited by the great thera Mahinda, in the vihāra built upon the mountain,[4] it was called the 'Mahinda-grotto'.

First the Mahāvihāra,[5] then the (monastery) named Cetiya- 17 vihāra, third the beautiful Thūpārāma,[6] which the thūpa (itself) preceded, fourth the planting of the great Bodhi-tree, 18 then fifth the (setting up) in seemly wise (of the) beautiful stone pillar which was intended to point to the place of the thūpa, on the place where the Great cetiya (afterwards) was, 19 and also the enshrining of the Sambuddha's collar-bone relic,[7] sixth the Issarasamaṇa(vihāra), seventh the Tissa- 20 tank, eighth the Paṭhamathūpa,[8] ninth the (vihāra) called Vessa(giri), then that pleasant (nunnery) which was known 21 as the Upāsikā(vihāra) and the (vihāra) called the Hatthāḷhaka, those two convents as goodly dwellings for the bhikkhuṇīs; and (furthermore) for the accepting of food by the 22

[1] Cf. for this, 19. 66. [2] See note to 19. 61.

[3] I.e. people of the third caste (Skt. vaiśya). The Vessagiri-vihāra is situated near Anurādhapura, south of Issarasamaṇaka-vihāra, *Arch. Surv. of Ceylon*, Annual Rep. 1906 (xx. 1910), pp. 8–10; E. MÜLLER, *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, pp. 32, 33; WICKREMASINGHE, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, i, p. 10 foll.

[4] I.e. in Cetiyapabbata-vihāra on Mihintale. I would now prefer to take the words sapabbate vihāre ('in the monastery, which, or the name of which was connected with the mountain') as belonging to the relative clause yā yā &c., and to place the comma here instead of after guhā.

[5] Cf. note to 15. 214.

[6] See 17. 62–64.

[7] On this passage cf. Mah. ed., pp. xxix, xxx. On the gīvadhātu see 1. 37 foll., on the silāyūpa 15. 173.

[8] See note on 14. 45.

brotherhood of bhikkhus when they were visiting the dwelling of the bhikkhunīs (called) Hatthāḷhaka(vihāra),[1] the refectory called Mahāpāli, easy of approach, beautiful, stored with all provisions and provided with service; then lavish gifts, consisting of the needful utensils for a thousand bhikkhus, (which things he gave) on the pavāraṇā-day, every year; in Nāgadīpa the Jambukolavihāra at this landing place,[2] the Tissamahāvihāra[3] and the Pācīnārāma[4]: these works, caring for the salvation of the people of Laṅkā, Devānampiyatissa, king of Laṅkā, rich in merit and insight, caused to be carried out, even in his first year, as a friend to virtue, and his whole life through he heaped up works of merit. Our island flourished under the lordship of this king; forty years did he hold sway as king.

After his death, his younger brother since there was no son, the prince known by the name UTTIYA, held sway piously as king. But the great thera, Mahinda, who had taught the peerless doctrine of the Master, the sacred writings, the precepts of righteousness and the higher perfection,[5] full

[1] The instrumental bhikkhusaṃghena belongs to the verbal noun gahaṇaṃ. Subordinate to this noun are the parallel gerunds osaritvā and gantvāna, the last being almost a pleonasm. On this subject the Ṭīkā remarks that at that time the monks in order to receive food went in order of seniority to the Hatthāḷhaka-convent. The new hall was built by Devānampiyatissa for this purpose, i.e. as refectory for the bhikkhus, separate from the nunnery.

[2] On Nāgadīpa (note to 1. 47) as the name of a district of Ceylon see 35. 124; 36. 9. On Jambukola, 11. 23, 38; 18. 7, &c.

[3] In south Ceylon, situated NE. of Hambantoṭa.

[4] I.e. 'East Monastery in Anurādhapura.' Cf. 19. 34.

[5] Pariyattiṃ paṭipattiṃ paṭivedhaṃ ca. According to the Ṭīkā pariyatti is a synonym of tipiṭaka, while paṭipatti represents the contents of the doctrines of the sacred scripture, namely, the way leading to deliverance as pointed out by the precepts of morality (Ṭīkā: pariyattisāsanassa atthabhūto sīlādikhandhattayasahito nibbāṇagāmimaggo). By paṭivedha (literally 'attainment') are meant the nine transcendental conditions (the lokuttaradhamma) which result from the observance of the paṭipatti (Ṭīkā: paṭipattisāsanassa phalabhūto navavidhalokuttaradhammo). Those nine conditions of perfection are the

excellently in the island of Laṅkā, (Mahinda) the light of Laṅkā, the teacher of many disciples, he who, like unto the Master, had wrought great blessing for the people, did, in 32 the eighth year of king Uttiya, while he, being sixty years old,[1] was spending the rain season on the Cetiya-mountain, pass, victorious over his senses, into nibbāna, on the eighth 33 day of the bright half of the month Assayuja. Therefore this day received his name.

When king Uttiya heard this he went thither, stricken by 34 the dart of sorrow, and when he had paid homage to the thera and oft and greatly had lamented (over him) he caused the 35 dead body of the thera to be laid forthwith in a golden chest sprinkled with fragrant oil, and the well closed[2] chest to be 36 laid upon a golden, adorned bier; and when he had caused it then to be lifted upon the bier, commanding solemn ceremonies, he caused it to be escorted by a great multitude of 37 people,[3] that had come together from this place and that, and by a great levy of troops; commanding due offerings (he 38 caused it to be escorted) on the adorned street to the variously adorned capital and brought through the city in procession by the royal highway to the Mahāvihāra. 39

When the monarch had caused the bier to be placed here for a week in the Pañhambamālaka—with triumphal arches, 40 pennons, and flowers, and with vases filled with perfumes the vihāra was adorned and a circle of three yojanas around, by 41 the king's decree, but the whole island was adorned in like manner by the decree of the devas—and when the monarch 42 had commanded divers offerings throughout the week he built

four maggā 'paths' or stages of holiness, with the corresponding four phalāni 'results, effects', besides nibbāna as the ninth. It is, therefore, said that Mahinda had proclaimed the Buddha's doctrine and the holiness resulting therefrom.

[1] Reckoned from upasampadā-ordination onwards. Notice the play on words in vassaṃ saṭṭhivasso vasaṃ vasī.

[2] Sādhu phussitaṃ. Cf. *Jāt.* vi. 510[10]: nivāse phussitaggale 'in a safe-bolted dwelling'.

[3] I refer janoghena and baloghena to ānayitvāna in 38 c, not to kārento pūjanāvidhiṃ. This should rather stand quite independently, as does kārento sādhukīḷanaṃ in 36 d.

up, turned toward the east in the Therānambandhamālaka,
43 a funeral pyre of sweet smelling wood, leaving the (place of the later) Great thūpa on the right, and when he had brought
44 the beautiful bier thither and caused it to be set upon the pyre he carried out the rites of the dead.[1]

And here did he build a cetiya when he had caused the
45 relics to be gathered together. Taking the half of the relics the monarch caused thūpas to be built on the Cetiya-mountain
46 and in all the vihāras. The place where the burial of this sage's body had taken place is called, to do him honour, Isibhūmaṅgaṇa.[2]

47 From that time onwards they used to bring the dead bodies of holy men from three yojanas around to this spot and there to burn them.

48 When the great therī Saṃghamittā, gifted with the great supernormal powers and with great wisdom had fulfilled the duties of the doctrine and had brought much blessing to the
49 people, she, being fifty-nine years old, in the ninth year of this same king Uttiya, while she dwelt in the peaceful
50 Hatthāḷhaka-convent, passed into nibbāṇa. And for her also, as for the thera, the king commanded supreme honours of
51 burial a week through, and the whole of Laṅkā was adorned as for the thera.

The body of the therī laid upon a bier did he cause to be
52 brought when the week was gone by, out of the city; and to the east of the Thūpārāma, near the Cittasālā[3] (of later
53 times) in sight of the great Bodhi-tree, on the spot pointed out by the therī (herself), he caused the burning to take place. And the most wise Uttiya also had a thūpa built there.

54 The five great theras also,[4] and those theras too of whom Ariṭṭha was the leader, and many thousand bhikkhus who
55 were freed from the āsavas, and also the twelve therīs among whom Saṃghamittā stood highest, and many thousand bhik-

[1] Sakkāraṃ antimaṃ 'the last honours'.
[2] I.e. 'Courtyard of the sage.'
[3] I.e. 'Many-coloured hall.'
[4] Those who had come to Ceylon with Mahinda. For the following cf. 19. 66 and 19. 5.

khuṇīs who were freed from the āsavas, who, endowed with 56 great learning and deep insight had expounded the holy scripture of the Conqueror, the vinaya and the rest, fell, in time, into the power of mortality.

Ten years did king Uttiya reign; thus in mortality the 57 destroyer of the whole world.

A man who, although he knows this overmastering, over- 58 whelming, irresistible mortality, yet is not discontented with the world of existence and does not feel, in this discontent, resentment at wrong nor joy in virtue—that is the strength of the fetters of his evil delusion!—such an one is knowingly fooled.[1]

Here ends the twentieth chapter, called 'The Nibbāṇa of the Thera', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] Wijesinha gives a wrong sense to the clause in taking it as a question. The verbs nibbindate and kurute belong to the relative sentence. The governing clause is jānaṃ pi (so) saṃmuyhati. The words tassesā atimohajālabalatā are only intelligible as a parenthesis.

CHAPTER XXI

THE FIVE KINGS

1 UTTIYA'S younger brother, MAHĀSIVA, reigned after his 2 death ten years, protecting the pious. Being devoted to the thera Bhaddasāla, he built the noble vihāra, Nagaraṅgaṇa, in the eastern quarter (of the city).

3 Mahāsiva's younger brother, SŪRATISSA, reigned after his 4 death ten years, zealously mindful of meritorious works. In the southern quarter (of the city) he founded [1] the Nagaraṅgaṇa-vihāra, in the eastern quarter the vihāra (called) Hat-5 thikkhandha and the Goṇṇagirika(vihāra); on the Vaṅguttara-mountain the (vihāra) named Pācīnapabbata and near 6 Raheraka the (vihāra) Kolambahālaka; [2] at the foot of the Ariṭṭha(mountain) the Makulaka(vihāra), to the east [3] the Acchagallaka(vihāra), but the Girinelavāhanaka(vihāra) 7 to the north of Kaṇḍanagara; these and other pleasing vihāras, in number five hundred, did the lord of the earth build on this and the further bank of the river, [4] here and 8 there in the island of Laṅkā, before and while he reigned, during the period of sixty years, piously and justly, [5] devoted 9 to the three gems. [6] Suvaṇṇapiṇḍatissa was his name before his reign, but he was named Sūratissa after the beginning of the reign.

10 Two Damiḷas, SENA and GUTTAKA, sons of a freighter who

[1] The verb on which the accusatives in v. 4 foll. depend is kāresi in 8.

[2] See note to 25. 80.

[3] According to the Ṭīkā to the east of Anurādhapura near Dahegallaka.

[4] I.e. the Mahawæliganga.

[5] Sādhukaṃ, i.e. according to pious aims, dhammena without oppressing the people.

[6] See notes to 1. 62; 12. 28.

brought horses hither,[1] conquered the king Sūratissa, at the head of a great army and reigned both (together) twenty-two[2] years justly. But when Asela had overpowered them, the son of Muṭasiva, the ninth among his brothers, born of the same mother,[3] he ruled for ten years onward from that time in Anurādhapura. 11 12

A Damiḷa of noble descent, named Eḷāra, who came hither from the Coḷa-country[4] to seize on the kingdom, ruled when he had overpowered king Asela, forty-four years, with even justice toward friend and foe, on occasions of disputes at law. 13 14

At the head of his bed he had a bell hung up with a long rope so that those who desired a judgement at law might ring it. The king had only one son and one daughter. When once the son of the ruler was going in a car to the Tissa-tank, he killed unintentionally a young calf lying on the road with the mother cow, by driving the wheel over its neck. The cow came and dragged at the bell in bitterness of heart;[5] and the king caused his son's head to be severed (from his body) with that same wheel. 15 16 17 18

A snake had devoured the young of a bird upon a palm-tree. The hen-bird, mother of the young one, came and rang the bell. The king caused the snake to be brought to him, and when its body had been cut open and the young bird taken out of it he caused it to be hung up upon the tree. 19 20

[1] This is perhaps the meaning of assanāvika (lit. 'horse-seafarer'). The Sinh. Thūpavaṃsa has as-næviyakuge putvū; the Pūjāvaliya: Lak-diva-ṭa asun geṇā aśvācāri-de-bæ-kenek; the Rājāvaliya: Lak-diva-ṭa asun geṇā asuru-de-bæ-kenek.

[2] Following the reading duve dvāvīsavassāni. See the Introduction, § 8.

[3] Asela's eight brothers are enumerated in the Ṭīkā. They are named Abhaya, Devānampiyatissa, Uttiya, Mahāsiva, Mahānāga, Mattābhaya, Sūratissa, and Kīra.

[4] Southern India.

[5] Lit. 'With embittered heart.' Note the play on words in ghaṭṭesi ghaṭṭitāsayā. The Ṭīkā paraphrases the last word: puttasokena kupitacittā.

21 When the king, who was a protector of tradition, albeit he knew not the peerless virtues of the most precious of the
22 three gems,[1] was going (once) to the Cetiya-mountain to invite the brotherhood of bhikkhus, he caused, as he arrived
23 upon a car, with the point of the yoke on the waggon, an injury to the thūpa of the Conqueror at a (certain) spot. The ministers said to him: 'King, the thūpa has been injured by
24 thee.' Though this had come to pass without his intending it, yet the king leaped from his car and flung himself down upon the road with the words: 'Sever my head also (from
25 the trunk) with the wheel.' They answered him: 'Injury to another does our Master in no wise allow; make thy peace
26 (with the bhikkhus) by restoring the thūpa'; and in order to place (anew) the fifteen stones that had been broken off he spent just fifteen thousand kahāpaṇas.[2]

27 An old woman had spread out some rice to dry it in the sun. The heavens, pouring down rain at an unwonted season,
28 made her rice damp. She took the rice and went and dragged at the bell. When he heard about the rain at an unwonted
29 season he dismissed the woman, and in order to decide her cause he underwent a fast, thinking: 'A king who observes
30 justice surely obtains rain in due season.' The guardian genius who received offerings from him, overpowered by the fiery heat of (the penances of) the king, went and told the
31 four great kings[3] of this (matter). They took him with them and went and told Sakka. Sakka summoned Pajjunna[4]
32 and charged him (to send) rain in due season. The guardian genius who received his offerings told the king. From thenceforth the heavens rained no more during the day throughout
33 his realm; only by night did the heavens give rain once every

[1] Cf. the note to 21. 8. By ratanaggassa is meant the Buddha, with whom the doctrine of the ratanattaya originates.

[2] Cf. note to 4. 13.

[3] These are the four guardians of the world, the lokapālā who usually appear near Indra in the brahmanic pantheon: Dhataraṭṭha, Virūḷhaka, Virūpakkha, and Vessavaṇa, rulers, in the above order, of the east, south, west, and north.

[4] Skt. Parjanya, the god of rain.

week, in the middle watch of the night; and even the little cisterns everywhere were full (of water).

Only because he freed himself from the guilt of walking 34 in the path of evil did this (monarch), though he had not put aside false beliefs, gain such miraculous power; how should not then an understanding man, established in pure belief, renounce here the guilt of walking in the path of evil?

Here ends the twenty-first chapter, called 'The Five Kings', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XXII

THE BIRTH OF PRINCE GĀMAṆI

1 WHEN he had slain Eḷāra, DUṬṬHAGĀMAṆI became king. To show clearly how this came to pass the story in due order (of events) is this[1]:

2 King Devānampiyatissa's second brother, the vice-regent 3 named Mahānāga, was dear to his brother. The king's consort, that foolish woman, coveted the kingship for her own son and 4 ever nursed the wish to slay the vice-regent, and while he was making the tank called Taraccha she sent him a mango-fruit which she had poisoned and laid uppermost among 5 (other) mango-fruits. Her little son who had gone with the vice-regent, ate the mango-fruit, when the dish was un- 6 covered, and died therefrom. Upon this the vice-regent, with his wives, men and horses, went, to save his life, to Rohaṇa.[2]

7 In the Yaṭṭhālaya-vihāra[3] his wife, who was with child, 8 bore a son. He gave him his brother's name.[4] Afterwards he came to Rohaṇa and as ruler over the whole of Rohaṇa the 9 wealthy prince reigned in Mahāgāma.[5] He founded the

[1] On the insertion of the Duṭṭhagāmaṇi epic see *Dīp. and Mah.*, p. 20 (English ed.). In the Nidānakathā (*Jāt.* i. 50[3]) the story of the dream of Māyā before the birth of the Buddha is inserted with almost the same introducing words. See WINDISCH, *Buddha's Geburt und die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung*, p. 156.

[2] The south and south-east part of the island.

[3] There is certainly better authority for the form Yaṭṭhālāya. However Yaṭṭhālaya gives an appropriate meaning to the name: 'dwelling or temple of the sacrificer'. (Skt. yaṣṭar, p. yaṭṭhar and Skt. P. ālaya.) Tradition seems to identify the monastery with the Yaṭagala-vihāra to the NE. of Point de Galle. *The Ceylon National Review*, iii, p. 110.

[4] He was named (after his birthplace and Devānampiyatissa) Yaṭṭhālayakatissa.

[5] NE. of Hambantoṭa near the place where the ruins of the

Nāgamahāvihāra[1] that bore his name; he founded also many (other) vihāras, as the Uddhakandaraka (vihāra) and so forth.

His son Yaṭṭhālayakatissa reigned after his death in that 10 same place, and in like manner also Abhaya, son of this (last).

Goṭhābhaya's son, known by the name Kākavaṇṇatissa, 11 the prince, reigned there after his death. Vihāradevī was 12 the consort of this believing king, firm in the faith (was she), the daughter of the king of Kalyāṇī.[2]

Now in Kalyāṇī the ruler was the king named Tissa. His 13 younger brother named Ayya-Uttika, who had roused the wrath (of Tissa) in that he was the guilty lover of the queen, fled thence from fear and took up his abode elsewhere. The 14 district was named after him. He sent a man wearing the 15 disguise of a bhikkhu, with a secret letter to the queen. This man went thither, took his stand at the king's door and 16 entered the king's house with an arahant who always used to take his meal at the palace, unnoticed by that thera. When 17 he had eaten in company with the thera, as the king was going forth,[3] he let the letter fall to the ground when the queen was looking.

The king turned at the (rustling) sound, and when he 18 looked down and discovered the written message he raged, unthinking, against the thera, and in his fury he caused the 19 thera and the man to be slain and thrown into the sea. Wroth at this the sea-gods made the sea overflow the land; 20 but the king with all speed caused his pious and beautiful daughter named Devī to be placed in a golden vessel, whereon 21 was written 'a king's daughter', and to be launched upon that same sea. When she had landed near to (the) Laṅkā 22

Tissamahārāma lie on the left bank of the Māgama-river. The village at the mouth of the river still bears the name Māgama.

[1] The Mahānāga-dāgaba still exists in the ruins of Mahāgāma. See PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 324.

[2] See note to i. 63.

[3] Or 'as she (i.e. the queen) was going forth with the king', according to the reading raññā saha viniggame of the Burmese MSS.; the Ṭīkā seems also to agree with this.

(vihāra) the king Kākavaṇṇa consecrated her as queen. Therefore she received the epithet Vihāra.

23 When he had founded the Tissamahāvihāra [1] and the Cittalapabbata (vihāra) [2] and also the Gamiṭṭhavāli and Kūṭāli
24 (vihāra) and so forth, devoutly believing in the three gems, he provided the brotherhood continually with the four needful things.[3]

25 In the monastery named Koṭapabbata there lived at that time a sāmaṇera, pious in his way of life, who was ever busied with various works of merit.

26 To mount the more easily to the courtyard of the Ākāsa-
27 cetiya [4] he fixed three slabs of stone as steps. He gave (the bhikkhus) to drink and did services to the brotherhood. Since his body was continually wearied a grievous sickness came
28 upon him. The grateful bhikkhus, who brought him in a litter, tended him at the Tissārāma, in the Silāpassayapariveṇa.

29 Always when the self-controlled Vihāradevī had given lavish gifts to the brotherhood in the beautifully prepared
30 royal palace, before the mid-day meal, she was used to take, after the meal, sweet perfumes, flowers, medicines and clothing and go to the ārāma and offer these (to the bhikkhus) according to their dignity.

31 Now doing thus, at that time, she took her seat near the chief thera of the community (in the vihāra) and when ex-
32 pounding the true doctrine the thera spoke thus to her: 'Thy

[1] Cf. above the note to v. 8.

[2] The ruins of the Cittalapabbata, or, in the later form, Situlpawvihāra lie 15 miles NE. of the Tissamahārāma near Katagamuwa. See A. Jayawardana in *The Ceylon National Review*, ii, p. 23; Ed. Müller, *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, p. 29. The monastery is mentioned once again in 35. 81, and in the Cūlavaṃsa 45. 59 under king Dāṭhopatissa II, the first half of the seventh century A.D.

[3] See note to 3. 14.

[4] I.e. the 'Air-cetiya', which is still shown, not far from the Cittalapabbata-monastery. It is so named because it is situated on the summit of a rock. Cf. *Ceylon National Review*, ii, p. 24. See also note to 33. 68.

great happiness thou hast attained by works of merit; even now must thou not grow weary of performing works of merit.' But she, being thus exhorted, replied: 'What is our 33 happiness here, since we have no children? Lo, our happiness is therefore barren!'

The thera, who, being gifted with the six (supernormal) 34 powers, foresaw that she would have children, said: 'Seek out the sick sāmaṇera, O queen.' She went thence and said 35 to the sāmaṇera, who was near unto death: 'Utter the wish to become my son; for that would be great happiness for us.' And when she perceived that he would not the keen-witted 36 woman commanded, to this end, great and beautiful offerings of flowers, and renewed her pleading.

When he was yet unwilling, she, knowing the right means, 37 gave to the brotherhood for his sake all manner of medicines and garments and again pleaded with him. Then did he 38 desire (rebirth for himself in) the king's family, and she caused the place to be richly adorned and taking her leave she mounted the car and went her way. Hereupon the 39 sāmaṇera passed away, and he returned to a new life in the womb of the queen while she was yet upon her journey; when she perceived this she halted. She sent that message 40 to the king and returned with the king. When they two had both fulfilled the funeral rites for the sāmaṇera they, 41 dwelling with collected minds in that very pariveṇa, appointed continually lavish gifts for the brotherhood of bhikkhus.

And there came on the virtuous queen these longings of 42 a woman with child. (This) did she crave: that while making a pillow for her head of a honeycomb one usabha long[1] and 43 resting on her left side in her beautiful bed, she should eat the honey that remained when she had given twelve thousand bhikkhus to eat of it; and then she longed to drink (the 44 water) that had served to cleanse the sword with which the

[1] A certain measure. According to Abhidhānappadīpikā = 20 yaṭṭhi ('staves') each 7 ratana ('cubits'). RHYS DAVIDS, *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 15.

head of the first warrior among king Eḷāra's warriors had
45 been struck off, (and she longed to drink it) standing on this
very head, and moreover (she longed) to adorn herself with
46 garlands of unfaded lotus-blossoms brought from the lotus-marshes of Anurādhapura.

The queen told this to the king, and the king asked the
47 soothsayers. When the soothsayers heard it they said: 'The queen's son, when he has vanquished the Damiḷas and built up a united kingdom, will make the doctrine to shine forth brightly.'

48 'Whosoever shall point out such a honeycomb, on him the king will bestow a grace in accordance (with this service),'
49 thus did the king proclaim. A countryman who found,[1] on the shore of the Goṭha-sea[2] a boat, which was turned upside
50 down, filled with honey, showed this to the king. The king brought the queen thither and, in a beautifully prepared pavilion, caused her to eat the honey as she had wished.

51 And that her other longings might also be satisfied the king entrusted his warrior named Veḷusumana with the
52 matter. He went to Anurādhapura and became the friend of the keeper of the king's state-horse and continually did
53 him services. When he saw that this man trusted him he, the fearless one, laid lotus-flowers and his sword down on the
54 shore of the Kadamba-river early in the morning;[3] and when he had led the horse out and had mounted it and had

[1] The Ṭīkā here contains a narrative, taken from the Aṭṭhakathā, of the finding of the boat; cf. *Dīp. and Mah.*, p. 37. The author of the Kamb. Mah. has versified and adopted it in his text.

[2] Goṭhasamudda (cf. 22. 85) is a designation of the sea near Ceylon. In Sinhalese the corresponding word is goḷumuhudu 'the sea not far from the land, the shallow sea' (Clough, *Sinh.-Engl. Dict.*, s. v.).

[3] The Ṭīkā explains the passage thus: Anurādhapurassa uppalakkhettato gahitaṃ uppalamālaṃ ca attano khaggaratanaṃ ca gahetvā pāto va Kadambanadiyā tīraṃ netvā kassaci asaṅkito tattha ṭhapesi 'When he had taken lotus-flowers gathered from the lotus-marshes of Anurādhapura, and his own precious sword, he brought it early in the morning to the shore of the Kadamba-river and laid it there down, without being afraid of anybody'.

grasped the lotus-blossoms and the sword, he made himself known [1] and rode thence as swiftly as the horse could (go).[2]

When the king heard that he sent forth his first warrior[3] 55 to catch him. This man mounted the horse that came second (to the state-horse) and pursued the other.[3] He (Veḷusu- 56 mana), sitting on the horse's back, hid himself in the jungle, drew the sword and stretched it toward his pursuer.[4] Thereby 57 was his head, as he came on, so swiftly as the horse could, severed (from the trunk). The other took both beasts and the head (of Eḷāra's warrior) and reached Mahāgāma in the evening. And the queen satisfied her longings even as she would. 58 But the king conferred on his warrior such honours as were in accordance (with this service).

In time the queen bore a noble son, endowed with all 59 auspicious signs,[5] and great was the rejoicing in the house of the great monarch. By the effect of his merit there arrived 60 that very day, from this place and that, seven ships laden with manifold gems. And in like manner, by the power of 61 his merit, an elephant of the six-tusked race[6] brought his young one thither and left him here and went his way. When a fisherman named Kaṇḍula saw it standing in the 62 jungle on the shore opposite the watering-place, he straightway told the king. The king sent his (elephant)-trainers to 63 bring the young elephant and he reared him. He was named Kaṇḍula as he had been found by Kaṇḍula.

[1] Attānaṃ nivedayitvā as elsewhere nāmaṃ sāvayitvāna (10. 26; 33. 65).

[2] Lit. 'with the swiftness of the horse.'

[3] According to the Ṭīkā Eḷāra's man-at-arms was named Nandasārathi, his horse was called Siriguttā, the horse stolen by Veḷusumana is called Vāha.

[4] Lit. 'To him who was coming at his back or after him.'

[5] The Ṭīkā explains dhaññaṃ by paripāke gabbhe mahāpuññasaṃpannaṃ puññatejussadaṃ ti vā attho.

[6] The chaddantā are supposed to be a particularly noble breed of elephants. Chaddanta is also a sacred lake in the Himalaya named after these elephants. Mah. 5. 27, 29. SUBHŪTI, *Abhidhānappadīpikā-Sūci*, p. 130: Chaddanto, nāgarājā, tassa nivāsaṭṭhānasamīpattā Chaddanto saro.

64 'A ship filled with vessels of gold and so forth has arrived.' This they announced to the king. And he bade them bring (the precious things) to him.

65 As the king had invited the brotherhood of the bhikkhus, numbering twelve thousand, for the name-giving festival of his 66 son, he thought thus: 'If my son, when he has won the kingship over the whole realm of Laṅkā, shall make the doctrine of 67 the Sambuddha to shine forth (in clear brightness) then shall just one thousand and eight bhikkhus come hither and they shall wear the robe in such wise that the alms-bowl shall 68 be uppermost.[1] They shall put the right foot first inside the threshold[2] and they shall lay aside the prescribed waterpot 69 together with the umbrella (made of) one (piece).[3] A thera named Gotama shall receive my son and impart to him the confession of faith and the precepts of morality.'[4] All fell out in this manner.

[1] I.e. the alms-bowl shall not be covered by the folds of the garment. The twice repeated ca is striking. The author of the Kamb. Mahāvaṃsa also feels this; he alters ca to sa.

[2] The contrary would be an unlucky omen. This superstition still prevails among the modern Sinhalese. PARKER, *Village Folk-tales of Ceylon*, p. 14.

[3] Ekacchattayutaṃ dhammakarakaṃ nīharantu ca. My translation is based on SUBHŪTI'S interpretation (letter dated Colombo 2. I. 1911). The dhammakaraka is a pot into which the water is strained before drinking; the strainer being called parissāvana. See C.V. V. 13. 1; VI. 21. 3). 'The waterpot and the umbrella (chatta) are two principal articles used by the monks when going out.' Ekacchatta or 'single umbrella' is 'an umbrella made of leaf, having its own handle'. According to SĪLĀNANDA (letter received from H. T. de Silva, Colombo 21. I. 1911) ekacchattayutaṃ must be taken as 'provided with one handle' as an adjective belonging to dhammakarakaṃ. The waterpots are made without or with a handle or neck. In this case the neck of the waterpot would be compared to a chatta on the top of a building.

[4] WIJESIṆHA, *Mah.*, p. 87, n. 1, refers the words not to the boy but to the assembly present. He says: 'It must here be borne in mind that it is customary with the priesthood to administer the confession of faith (saraṇa) and the five precepts (pañcasīla) TO THE ASSEMBLY before the commencement of any ceremony.' But Mah. 24. 24 Gotama (cf. v. 28) is expressly designated rañño (i.e. of Duṭṭha-

When he saw all these omens the king, glad at heart, 70 bestowed rice-milk on the brotherhood; and to his son, bringing together in one both the lordship over Mahāgāma 71 and the name of his father, he gave the name Gāmaṇi-Abhaya.

When, on the ninth day after this, he had entered Mahā- 72 gāma, he had intercourse with the queen. She became thereby with child. The son born in due time did the king 73 name Tissa. And both boys grew up in the midst of a great body of retainers.

When, at the festival time of the presenting of the (first) 74 rice-foods to both (children), the king, full of pious zeal, set rice-milk before five hundred bhikkhus, he, when the half 75 had been eaten by them, did, together with the queen, take a little in a golden spoon and give it to them with the 76 words: 'If you, my sons, abandon the doctrine of the Sambuddha then shall this not be digested in your belly.' Both 77 princes, who understood the meaning of these words, ate the rice-milk rejoicing as if it were ambrosia.

When they were ten and twelve years old the king, who 78 would fain put them to the test, offered hospitality in the same way to the bhikkhus, and when he had the rice that 79 was left by them taken and placed in a dish and set before the boys he divided it into three portions and spoke thus: 'Never, 80 dear ones, will we turn away from the bhikkhus, the guardian-spirits of our house: with such thoughts as these eat ye this portion here.' And furthermore: 'We two brothers will for 81 ever be without enmity one toward the other; with such thoughts as these eat ye this portion here.' And as if it 82 were ambrosia they both ate the two portions. But when it was said to them: 'Never will we fight with the Damiḷas; with such thoughts eat ye this portion here,' Tissa dashed 83 the food away with his hand, but Gāmaṇi who had (in like manner) flung away the morsel of rice, went to his bed, and 84

gāmaṇi) sikkhāya dāyako, with distinct reference to 22. 69. We take it then to mean that Gotama, from the very fact that he 'receives' the boy (paṭigaṇhāti), expresses his willingness to become his teacher in the future.

drawing in his hands and feet he lay upon his bed. The
85 queen came, and caressing Gāmaṇi spoke thus: 'Why dost thou not lie easily upon thy bed with limbs stretched out, my son?' 'Over there beyond the Gaṅgā[1] are the Damiḷas,
86 here on this side is the Goṭha-ocean,[2] how can I lie with outstretched limbs?' he answered. When the king heard his thoughts he remained silent.

87 Growing duly Gāmaṇi came to sixteen years, vigorous, renowned, intelligent and a hero in majesty and might.

88 In this changing existence do beings indeed (only) by works of merit come to such rebirth as they desire; pondering thus the wise man will be ever filled with zeal in the heaping up of meritorious works.

Here ends the twenty-second chapter, called 'The Birth of Prince Gāmaṇi', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] See note to 10. 44. [2] See note to 22. 49.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE LEVYING OF THE WARRIORS

FOREMOST in strength, beauty, shape and the qualities of 1 courage and swiftness and of mighty size of body was the elephant Kaṇḍula. Nandhimitta, Sūranimila, Mahāsoṇa, 2 Goṭhaimbara, Theraputtābhaya, Bharaṇa, and also Veḷusumana, Khañjadeva, Phussadeva and Labhiyavasabha: these 3 ten were his mighty and great warriors.[1]

King Eḷāra had a general named Mitta; and he had, in 4 the village that he governed,[2] in the eastern district[3] near 5 the Citta-mountain, a (nephew, his) sister's son, named after his uncle, whose secret parts were hidden (in his body). In 6 the years of his childhood, since he loved to creep far, they[4] were used to bind the boy fast with a rope slung about his body, to a great mill-stone. And since, creeping about on 7 the ground, he dragged the stone after him and in crossing over the threshold the rope broke asunder, they called him 8 Nandhimitta. He had the strength of ten elephants. When he was grown up he went into the city and served his uncle. Damiḷas, who desecrated at that time thūpas and other 9 (sacred memorials), this strong man used to tear asunder, treading one leg down with his foot while he grasped the 10 other with his hand, and then (he would) cast them out (over

[1] The story of the ten paladins of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi is treated also in the Rasavāhinī II, p. 78 foll. (Ed. by SARAṆATISSATHERA, Colombo, 1901 and 1899.)

[2] Kammantagāma, i.e. 'Village of labour' or 'activity'. 'I think the word is equivalent to the nindagama of the present day. It is a village the tenants of which are liable to render services to the landlords.' WIJESIṆHA, *Mah.*, p. 88, no. 4.

[3] Possibly the name of the village is Khaṇḍarāji. Rasav. II. 80[28] seems to bear this out.

[4] That is the boy's parents.

the walls). But the devas caused those dead bodies that he cast out to vanish.

11 When they observed the diminution of the Damiḷas they told the king; but the command 'Take him with his prey!'[1]
12 they could not carry out.[2] Nandhimitta thought: 'And if I do thus, it is but the destruction of men and brings not the
13 glory to the doctrine. In Rohaṇa[3] there are still princes who have faith in the three gems. There will I serve the
14 king, and when I have overcome all the Damiḷas and have conferred the overlordship on the princes, I shall make the doctrine of the Buddha to shine forth brightly.' Then he
15 went and told this to prince Gāmaṇi. When this latter had taken counsel with his mother he received him with honour, and with high honours the warrior Nandhimitta continued to dwell with him.

16 King Kākavaṇṇatissa caused a guard to hold the Damiḷas in check to be kept continually at all the fords of the Mahā-
17 gaṅgā. Now the king had, by another wife, a son named Dīghābhaya; and he gave the guard near the Kacchaka-
18 ford[4] into his charge. And to form the guard this (prince) commanded each noble family within a distance of two
19 yojanas round (to send) one son thither. Within the district of Koṭṭhivāla, in the village of Khaṇḍakaviṭṭhika, lived the chief of a clan the headman named Saṃgha who had seven
20 sons. To him, too, the prince sent a messenger demanding a son. His seventh son named Nimila[5] had the strength of
21 ten elephants. His six brothers who were angered at his

[1] The reading should be, without doubt, sahoḍhaṃ gaṇhathenaṃ, cf. *J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 860; *J.P.T.S.* 1910, p. 137. Skt. sahoḍha. The Ṭīkā has hit the meaning with the paraphrase sabhaṇḍakaṃ. The Rasavāh. II, p. 80[15] makes the characteristic alteration to sahasā gaṇhathenaṃ, a proof that the phrase was no longer understood in its original sense but had fallen into a stereotyped use. Cf. also *Jāt.* iii. 59[10].

[2] Since they did not succeed in finding out the doer of the deed.

[3] See note to 22. 6. [4] See note to 10. 58.

[5] Rasavāhinī: Nimmala or Surānimmala. The first part of the latter name is derived from surā 'spirituous liquor', and must (according to II, p. 84[1-2]) refer to the drinking prowess of the hero.

bent toward idleness, wished that he might go, but not so his
mother and his father. Wroth with his other brothers he 22
went, in the early morning, a distance of three yojanas, and
sought out the prince even at sunrise. And he, to put him 23
to the test, entrusted him with a far errand: 'Near the
Cetiya-mountain in the village of Dvāramaṇḍala is a brahman 24
named Kuṇḍalī, my friend. In his possession is merchandise
from over-seas.[1] Go thou to him and bring hither the 25
merchandise that he gives thee.' When he had thus spoken
to him and had offered him a meal he sent him forth with a
letter. He travelled, yet in the forenoon, nine yojanas from 26
that place hither[2] toward Anurādhapura and sought out the
brahman. 'When thou hast bathed in the tank, my dear, 27
come to me,' said the brahman. As he had never yet come
to this place[3] he bathed in the Tissa-tank, and when he had 28
done reverence to the great Bodhi-tree and the cetiya in
the Thūpārāma he went into the city; when he had (then)
seen the whole city and had bought perfumes in the bazaar, 29
had gone forth again by the north gate and had brought
lotus-blossoms from the lotus-field he sought out the brahman, 30
and questioned by him he told him of his wayfaring. When
the brahman heard of his first march[4] and of his march
hither[5] he thought, full of amazement: 'This is a man of 31
noble race; if Eḷāra hears of him he will get him into his
power. Therefore must he not dwell near the Damiḷas, he must 32
rather take up his abode with the prince's father.' When 33
he had written in the same sense he gave the written message
into his hands, and giving him Puṇṇavaḍḍhana-garments[6]

[1] The reading samuddapārabhaṇḍāni, in a Sinhalese MS., is only a conjecture, but is probably the correct reading.

[2] Here, as frequently, taking the standpoint of the author, who lives in Anurādhapura.

[3] I.e. to Anurādhapura.

[4] I.e. the distance covered in the morning from Kacchakatittha to Dvāramaṇḍala.

[5] That is, to Anurādhapura and from there back to Dvāramaṇḍala.

[6] Ṭīkā: anagghāni evaṃnāmikāni vatthayugānīti 'precious pairs of garments bearing that name'.

34 and many gifts (to take with him), and having fed him he sent him (back) to his friend. He came to the prince at the time 35 that the shadows grow longer and delivered up to the king's son the letter and the gifts. Then rejoicing (the prince) said: 'Honour this man with a thousand (pieces of money).' 36 The other servitors of the prince grew envious, then ordered 37 he to honour the youth with ten thousand (pieces). And when (according to his charge) they had cut his hair and bathed him in the river, and had put on him a pair of Puṇṇavaḍḍhana-garments and a beautiful fragrant wreath, 38 and had wound a silken turban about his head, they brought him to the prince,[1] and the latter commanded that food from 39 his own stores be given him. Moreover, the prince bade them give his own bed worth ten thousand (pieces of money) to the 40 warrior as a couch. He gathered all these together and took them to his mother and father and gave the ten thousand (pieces of money) to his mother and the bed to his father. 41 The same night he came and appeared at the place of the guard. When the prince heard this in the morning he was 42 glad at heart. When he had given him provision for the journey and an escort and had bestowed on him (as a gift) ten 43 thousand (pieces of money) he sent him to his father. The warrior brought the ten thousand to his mother and father, gave it to them and went into the presence of king 44 Kākavaṇṇatissa. The king gave him (into the service of) the prince Gāmaṇi, and with high honours the warrior Sūranimila took up his abode with him.

45 In the Kuḷumbari-district[2] in the village Hundarīvāpi 46 lived Tissa's eighth son named Soṇa. At the time when he was seven years old he tore up young palms; at the time when he was ten years old the strong (boy) tore up great

[1] Veṭhayitvā, a verb common to both and governing the accusative, must be supplied to puṇṇavaḍḍhanayugaṃ and gandhamālaṃ.

[2] Kuḷumbarikaṇṇikāya; cf. Nakulanagakaṇṇikāyaṃ, Mah. 23. 77; Kūlāyanakaṇṇikamhi, Mah. 34. 89; and Huvācakaṇṇike, Mah. 34. 90. Rasav. II. 86[19] reads Kadaḷumbarikannikāya.

palm-trees. In time Mahāsoṇa became as strong as ten elephants. When the king heard that he was such a man he took him from his father and gave him into the service of the prince Gāmaṇi that he might maintain him. Receiving honourable guerdon from him, the warrior took up his abode with him. 47 48

In the region named Giri, in the village Niṭṭhulaviṭṭhika, there lived a son of Mahānāga strong as ten elephants. By reason of his dwarfish stature he was named Goṭhaka; his six elder brothers made a merry jest of him. Once when they had gone forth and were clearing the forest to lay out a bean-field they left his share and came back and told him. Then forthwith he started out, and when he had torn up the trees called imbara and had levelled the ground he came and told (them). His brothers went and when they had seen his amazing work they returned to him praising his work.[1] Because of this he bore the name Goṭhaimbara, and him too, in like manner, the king commanded to stay with Gāmaṇi. 49 50 51 52 53 54

A householder named Rohaṇa, who was headman in the village of Kiṭṭi near the Koṭa-mountain, gave to the son who was born to him the name of the king Goṭhābhaya.[2] At the age of ten to twelve years the boy was so strong that in his play he threw like balls for playing stones that could not be lifted by four or five men. When he was sixteen years old his father made him a club thirty-eight inches round and sixteen cubits long. When, with this, he smote the stems of palmyra or coco-palms, he felled them. Therefore was he known as a warrior. And him, too, did the king in like manner command to stay with Gāmaṇi. But his father was a supporter of the thera Mahāsumma. Once when this householder was hearing a discourse of Mahāsumma in the Koṭa-pabbata-vihāra he attained to the fruition of (the first stage of 55 56 57 58 59 60 61

[1] The Rasav. II. 88 foll. tells yet another story of Goṭhaimbara, that he subdued a yakkha named Jayasena and then went among the monks. The 'dwellers in the Uttaravihāra' are mentioned as the source of this story.

[2] Samānanāmaṃ kāresi, lit. 'made of him of like name with . . .

62 salvation called) sotāpatti. With heart strongly moved[1] he told this to the king, and when he had given over (the headship of) his house to his son he received the pabbajjā from the
63 thera. Given up to the practice of meditation he attained to the state of an arahant. Therefore his son was called Theraputtābhaya.[2]

64 In the village of Kappakandara[3] a son of Kumāra[4] lived named Bharaṇa. In time, when he was ten to twelve years
65 old, he went with the boys into the forest and chased many hares; he struck at them with his foot and dashed them,
66 (smitten) in twain, to the ground. Then when he, at the age of sixteen years, went with the village-folk into the forest
67 he killed antelopes, elks, and boars in like manner. Therefore was Bharaṇa known as a great warrior. And him did the king in like manner command to stay with Gāmaṇi.

68 In the district called Giri, in the village of Kuṭumbiyaṅgaṇa there dwelt, held in honour (by the people) there, a house-
69 holder named Vasabha. His fellow-countrymen Veḷa and Sumana, governor of Giri, came when a son was born to their
70 friend, bringing gifts, and both gave their name to the boy. When he was grown up the governor of Giri had him to dwell
71 in his house. He had a Sindhu-horse[5] that would let no man mount him. When he saw Veḷusumana he thought: 'Here
72 is a rider worthy of me,' and he neighed joyfully. When the governor perceived this he said to him: 'Mount the horse.'
73 Then he mounted the horse and made him gallop in a circle; and the animal appeared even as one single horse around the
74 whole circle, and he sat on the back of the courser seeming

[1] Jātasaṃvego, the conception of saṃvega is the negative side to the positive pasāda. See note to 1. 4.

[2] I.e. Abhaya, the son of the thera. The Rasav. II. 94[7] foll. states that the son was already a sāmaṇera, then relates a story from which it appears that in strength he was even superior to Goṭhaimbara.

[3] A river of this name in Rohaṇa is also mentioned, Mah. 24. 22, besides a monastery, Rasav. II. 88[11], 94[12].

[4] Thus Rasav. II. 96[28]: Kumāro nāmeko kuṭumbiko.

[5] Skt. saindhava 'horse from the Indus country', an excellent breed much prized in Indian literature.

to be a chain of men[1] and he loosed his mantle and girt it about him again and again fearlessly. When the bystanders 75 saw this they broke into applauding shouts. The governor of Giri gave him ten thousand (pieces of money) and thinking: 'he is fit for the king,' he gave him joyfully into the king's 76 service. The king made Veḷusumana dwell near him, giving 77 him honourable guerdon and favouring him greatly.

In the district of Nakulanaga in the village of Mahisadoṇika there lived Abhaya's last son, named Deva, endowed 78 with great strength. Since he limped a little they called him Khañjadeva. When he went a-hunting with the village-folk, 79 he chased at those times great buffaloes, as many as rose up, and grasped them by the leg with his hand, and when he had 80 whirled them round his head the young man dashed them to the ground breaking their bones. When the king heard this 81 matter, having sent for Khañjadeva, he commanded him to stay with Gāmaṇi.

Near the Cittalapabbata (vihāra)[2] in the village named 82 Gaviṭa there lived Uppala's son named Phussadeva. When 83 he went once as a boy to the vihāra with the (other) boys he took one of the shells offered to the bodhi-tree and blew it mightily. Powerful even as the roar at the bursting asunder 84 of a thunderbolt was his tone, and all the other boys, terrified, were as if stunned. Therefore he was known by the name 85 Ummādaphussadeva. His father made him learn the archer's art handed down in the family, and he was one of those who 86 hit their mark (guided) by sound, who hit by (the light of the) lightning, and who hit a hair. A waggon laden with sand and a hundred skins bound one upon another, a slab of 87 asana or udumbara-wood[3] eight or sixteen inches thick, or

[1] The Ṭīkā (see Mah. ed. note on this passage) explains vassahāraṃ va by 'like an unbroken row of men holding together'. Vassa presupposes a Skt. varṣan related to Skt. vṛṣan. The neuter gender in hāra 'string of pearls', is striking. Cf. the Greek legend of Alexander's horse Bukephalos.

[2] See Mah. 22. 23 (with note); Rasav. II. 101[2].

[3] Skt. asana, *Terminalia tomentosa* and udumbara, *Ficus glomerata*.

88 one of iron or copper two or four inches thick he shot through with the arrow; an arrow shot forth by him flew 89 eight usabhas[1] over the land but one usabha through the water. When the great king heard this thing he had him taken away from his father and commanded him to stay with Gāmaṇi.

90 Near the Tulādhāra-mountain in the village of Vihāravāpi 91 lived a son of the householder Matta, named Vasabha. Since his body was nobly formed they called him Labhiyavasabha. At the age of twenty years he was gifted with great bodily 92 strength. Taking some men with him he began, since he would fain have some fields, (to make) a tank. Making it he, 93 being endowed with great strength, flung away masses of earth such as only ten or twelve men had moved else, and thus in 94 a short time he finished the tank. And thereby he gained renown, and him too did the king summon and, allotting him honourable guerdon, he appointed him to (the service of) 95 Gāmaṇi. That field was known as Vasabha's Dam.[2] So Labhiyavasabha abode near Gāmaṇi.

96 On these ten great warriors did the king henceforth confer 97 honours like to the honours conferred on his own son. Then summoning the ten great warriors the king charged them: 98 'Each one find ten warriors.' They brought thither warriors in this way and again the king commanded these hundred 99 warriors to levy (others) in like manner. They too brought thither warriors in this way and these thousand warriors did the king again command to levy (others) in like manner. 100 They also brought warriors thither. And they, reckoned altogether, were then eleven thousand one hundred and ten warriors.

101 They all continually received honourable guerdon from the ruler of the land and abode surrounding the prince Gāmaṇi.

102 Thus when a wise man, mindful of his salvation, hears of

[1] See note to 22. 42.

[2] The Rasav. 11. 103 135 says: Kākavaṇṇatissamahārājā taṃ ānāpetva mahantaṃ sakkāraṃ katvā udakavāragāmaṃ tass' eva dāpesi; tato paṭṭhāya so Vasabhodakavāro ti pākaṭo ahosi.

the marvels wrought by the pious life, he should surely, turning aside from the evil path, evermore find pleasure in the path of piety.

Here ends the twenty-third chapter, called 'The Levying of the Warriors', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE WAR OF THE TWO BROTHERS

1 SKILLED in (guiding) elephants and horses, and in (bearing) the sword and versed in archery[1] did the prince Gāmaṇi dwell 2 thenceforth in Mahāgāma. The prince Tissa, equipped with troops and chariots did the king cause to be stationed in 3 Dīghavāpi[2] in order to guard the open country. Afterwards prince Gāmaṇi, reviewing his host, sent to announce to his 4 father the king: 'I will make war upon the Damiḷas.' The king, to protect him, forbade him, saying: 'The region on this side of the river[3] is enough.' Even to three times he 5 sent to announce the same (reply). 'If my father were a man he would not speak thus: therefore shall he put this on.' 6 And therewith Gāmaṇi sent him a woman's ornament. And enraged at him the king said: 'Make a golden chain! with that will I bind him, for else he cannot be protected.'

7 Then the other fled and went, angered at his father, to Malaya,[4] and because he was wroth with his father they named him Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.[5]

8 Then the king began to build the Mahānuggala-cetiya. When the cetiya was finished the monarch summoned the 9 brotherhood. Twelve thousand bhikkhus from the Cittalapab-

[1] I believe that upāsana in katupāsana must be taken in the sense of 'archery', which is borne out by Abhidh. 390. The Ṭīkā, it is true, explains katupāsano, in a general way, by katasikkho, dassitasippo.

[2] See note to 1. 78.

[3] Cf. the note to 10. 44. The Mahāgaṅgā is considered the border between the region occupied by the Damiḷas and the provinces ruled over by the Mahāgāma dynasty.

[4] Cf. note to 7. 68.

[5] I.e. the angry Gāmaṇi. Cf. *Dīp. and Mah.*, p. 21, n. 1.

bata (vihāra) gathered together here, and from divers (other) places twelve thousand also.

When the king had celebrated the solemn festival of the 10 cetiya he brought all the (ten) warriors together and made them take an oath in the presence of the brotherhood. They 11 all took the oath: 'We will not go to (thy) sons' battlefield'; therefore did they also not come to the war (afterwards).

When the king had built sixty-four vihāras and had lived 12 just as many years he died then in that same place.[1] The 13 queen took the king's body, brought it to the Tissamahārāma[2] in a covered car and told this to the brotherhood. When the 14 prince Tissa heard this he came from Dīghavāpi, and when he himself had carried out with (due) care the funeral rites for his father, the powerful (prince) took his mother and the 15 elephant Kaṇḍula with him and for fear of his brother went thence with all speed back to Dīghavāpi. To acquaint him 16 with these matters the whole of the ministers, who had met together, sent a letter to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. He repaired to 17 Guttahāla[3] and when he had placed outposts there he came to Mahāgāma and caused himself to be consecrated king. He 18 sent a letter to his brother (asking) for his mother and the elephant. But when after the third time he did not receive them he set forth to make war upon him. And between 19 those two there came to pass a great battle in Cūlaṅgaṇiya-piṭṭhi: and there fell many thousands of the king's men.[4] The king and his minister Tissa and the mare Dīghathūṇikā, 20 those three, took flight; the prince (Tissa) pursued them. The bhikkhus created a mountain between the two (brothers). 21 When he (Tissa) saw it he turned about, thinking: 'This is the work of the brotherhood of the bhikkhus.'

When he came to the Javamāla ford[5] of the river Kappa- 22

[1] In Mahāgāma. [2] Cf. note to 22. 8.

[3] Now Buttala, situated thirty to thirty-five miles to the north of Mahāgāma, where the high-road crosses the Menik-ganga. The road from Mahāgāma to Mahiyaṅgaṇa led through Guttahālaka (cf. 25. 6). The outposts were stationed there by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi as a security against a surprise from Tissa, residing at Dīghavāpi.

[4] I.e. of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

[5] I think that the battle took place at some distance from Gutta-

kandara the king said to his minister Tissa: 'I am spent[1]
23 with hunger.' He offered him food that was placed in a golden vessel. When he had set aside of the food for the
24 brotherhood and had divided it into four portions he said: 'Proclaim the meal-time.' Tissa proclaimed the time. When, by means of his heavenly ear,[2] he who had taught the king
25 the holy precepts,[3] the thera (Gotama), dwelling in Piyaṅgudīpa,[4] heard this he sent the thera Tissa the son of a house-
26 holder, thither, and he went there through the air. Tissa (the minister) took his almsbowl from his hand and offered it to the king. The king commanded the portion for the brotherhood
27 and his own portion to be poured into the bowl. And Tissa poured his portion in likewise, and the mare also would not have her portion. Therefore did Tissa pour her share too into the bowl.

28 The king handed to the thera the bowl filled with food; and hastening away through the air he brought it to the thera
29 Gotama. When the thera had offered their share in morsels[5] to five hundred bhikkhus, who partook of the food,
30 and had (again) filled the bowl with the fragments that he received from them, he caused it to fly through the air to the king. (The minister) Tissa who saw it coming received it
31 and served the king. When he himself then had eaten he fed the mare also; then the king sent the almsbowl away, making of his own field-cloak a cushion to bear it upon.[6]

hālaka in the direction of Dīghavāpi. The site of Cūḷaṅgaṇiyapiṭṭhi may, therefore, be near Muppana, about ten miles to the north-east from Guttahālaka. On his flight the king had to cross the Kumbukkan-oya. This may be the Kappukandara-nadī. Then the Javamāla ford was near the village Kumbukkan.

[1] Chātajjhatto, in this sense also *Jāt.* i. 345[29].

[2] See note to 4. 12.

[3] See note to 22. 69 and below, v. 28.

[4] I.e. 'Panicum, or Saffron Island.' The monks living there enjoyed a reputation for particular holiness. Cf. Mah. 25. 104 foll.

[5] On ālopa see CHILDERS, *P.D.*, s. v.; literally translated it would be: 'when he had given (of it) in morsel-portions.'

[6] By cumbaṭa is meant a cloth rolled into a circular shape which serves as the support for a vessel when carried upon the head.

Arrived in Mahāgāma he assembled again a host of sixty 32 thousand men and marching into the field began the war with his brother. The king riding on his mare and Tissa on the 33 elephant Kaṇḍula, thus did the two brothers now come at once together, opposing each other in battle. Taking the 34 elephant in the middle the king made the mare circle round him. When he, notwithstanding, found no unguarded place he resolved to leap over him.[1] Leaping with the mare over 35 the elephant he shot his dart over his brother, so that he wounded only the skin on the back (of the elephant).[2]

Many thousands of the prince's men fell there, fighting in 36 battle, and his great host was scattered. 'By reason of the 37 weakness of my rider one of the female sex has used me contemptuously';[3] so thought the elephant, and in wrath he rushed upon a tree in order to throw him (Tissa). The prince 38 climbed upon the tree; the elephant went to his master (Duṭṭhagāmaṇi). And he mounted him and pursued the fleeing prince. The prince came to a vihāra and fleeing to the 39 cell of the chief thera, he lay down, in fear of his brother, under the bed. The chief thera spread a cloak over the bed, 40 and the king, who followed immediately, asked: 'Where is Tissa?' 'He is not in the bed, great king'; answered the 41 thera. Then the king perceived that he was under the bed, and when he had gone forth he placed sentinels round about 42 the vihāra; but they laid the prince upon the bed and covered him over with a garment and four young ascetics, grasping 43 the bed-posts, bore him out as if (they were carrying) a dead bhikkhu. But the king, who perceived that he was being 44 carried forth, said: 'Tissa, upon the head of the guardian genii of our house art thou carried forth; to tear away anything 45 with violence from the guardian genii of our house is not my

[1] To see whether he could perhaps attack him from above.

[2] This passage was corrupt at an early period. The Ṭīkā, too, mentions varying readings. The sense appears to me to be that Duṭṭhagāmaṇi only wishes to show his superiority without wounding either his brother or the elephant seriously. Cf. Mah. ed., Introd., p. xxii.

[3] Lit. 'Has leaped over me.' But the word '**laṅghayi**' is evidently to be taken also metaphorically here.

custom. Mayst thou evermore remember the virtue of the
46 guardian genii of our house!' Hereupon the king went to Mahāgāma, and thither did he bring his mother, whom he
47 greatly reverenced. Sixty-eight years did the king live, whose heart stood firm in the faith, and he built sixty-eight vihāras.

48 But the prince Tissa, carried forth by the bhikkhus, went
49 thence unrecognized[1] and came to Dīghavāpi. The prince said to the thera Godhagatta Tissa:[2] 'I have done ill, sir; I
50 will make my peace with my brother'. The thera took Tissa, in the habit of a servitor, and five hundred bhikkhus with him
51 and sought the king out. Leaving the prince above on the stairs the thera entered with the brotherhood. The monarch
52 invited them all to be seated and had rice-milk and other (food) brought (to them). The thera covered his almsbowl, and on the question: 'Wherefore this'? he answered: 'We have
53 come bringing Tissa with us.' To the question: 'Where is the traitor?' he pointed out the place where he stood. The Vihāradevī hurried thither and stood sheltering her young son.
54 The king said to the thera: 'It is known to you that we are now also[3] your servants. If you had but sent a sāmaṇera of
55 seven years our strife had not taken place (and all had ended) without loss of men.' 'O king, this is the brotherhood's guilt, the brotherhood will do penance.'

56 'You will (first) have (to do) what is due to (guests)[4] arriving. Take the rice-milk and the rest.' With these words he offered the (food) to the brotherhood; and when he
57 had called his brother hither he took his seat with his

[1] According to the conjectural reading aññātako. Cf. Mah. ed., Introd., p. xlvii.

[2] We have here a surname given to the thera because of his spotted complexion, Ṭīkā: evaṃnāmikassa. TURNOUR translates, concerning the explanation of the name given in the Ṭīkā, thus: 'Who was afflicted with a cutaneous complaint which made his skin scaly like that of the godha.' (WIJESIṆHA: of an iguana.)

[3] Ñāto vo dāsabhāvo idāni no, i.e. even after I have become king; no is honorific plur.

[4] Hessat' āgatakiccaṃ vo stands briefly for āgatānaṃ kiccaṃ hessati vo kiccaṃ. With these words the king returns to the hospitality shown to the bhikkhus.

brother even there in the midst of the brotherhood; and when he had eaten together with him he gave the brotherhood leave to depart. And thither too[1] he sent his brother to direct the work of harvest; and he too, when he had made it known by beat of drum, directed the work of harvest. 58

Thus are pious men wont to appease an enmity, though heaped up from many causes, even if it be great;[2] what wise man, pondering this, shall not be of peace-loving mind toward others? 59

Here ends the twenty-fourth chapter, called 'The War of the two Brothers', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] That is, there, where he had sent the bhikkhus, i.e. to Dīghavāpi. The sassakammāni are preparations for the campaign against the Damiḷas.

[2] The Ṭīkā explains anekavikappacitaṃ by anekadhā upacitaṃ, punappunānusaraṇavasena rāsīkataṃ ti attho.

CHAPTER XXV

THE VICTORY OF DUṬṬHAGĀMAṆI

1 WHEN the king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi had provided for his people and had had a relic put into his spear[1] he marched, with
2 chariots, troops and beasts for riders,[2] to Tissamahārāma, and when he had shown favour to the brotherhood he said: 'I will go on to the land on the further side of the river[3] to bring
3 glory to the doctrine. Give us, that we may treat them with honour, bhikkhus who shall go on with us, since the sight of
4 bhikkhus is blessing and protection for us.' As a penance[4] the brotherhood allowed him five hundred ascetics; taking this
5 company of bhikkhus with him the king marched forth, and when he had caused the road in Malaya leading hither[5] to be made ready he mounted the elephant Kaṇḍula and, surrounded
6 by his warriors, he took the field with a mighty host. With the one end yet in Mahāgāma[6] the train of the army reached to Guttahālaka.

7 Arrived at Mahiyaṅgaṇa[7] he overpowered the Damiḷa Chatta. When he had slain the Damiḷas in that very place he came then to Ambatitthaka,[8] which had a trench leading
8 from the river, and (conquered) the Damiḷa Titthamba; fighting the crafty[9] and powerful foe for four months he

[1] The spear serves as a royal standard, which is always carried before the prince.

[2] See note to 15. 189–190.

[3] See note to 24. 4.

[4] Cf. 24. 55.

[5] That is to the north of the island, towards Anurādhapura. Note to 10. 77. On Malaya see note to 7. 68.

[6] Mahāgāmena sambaddhā, lit. 'connected with Mahāgāma.'

[7] Mahiyaṅgaṇa = Bintenne (Alut-nuwara). See Appendix C.

[8] A ford of the Mahawæliganga, not far from Bintenne.

[9] Katahattha = Skt. kṛtahasta, and must be taken in the same sense.

(finally) overcame him by cunning,[1] since he placed his mother in his view. 9

When the mighty man marching thence down (the river) had conquered seven mighty Damiḷa princes in one day and had established peace, he gave over the booty to his troops. Therefore is (the place) called Khemārāma. 10

In Antarāsobbha he subdued Mahākoṭṭha, in Doṇa Gavara, in Hālakola Issariya, in Nāḷisobbha Nāḷika. In Dīghābhayagallaka he subdued, in like manner, Dīghābhaya; in Kacchatittha, within four months, he subdued Kapisīsa. In Koṭanagara he subdued Koṭa, then Hālavahānaka, in Vahiṭṭha the Damiḷa Vahiṭṭha and in Gāmaṇi (he subdued) Gāmaṇi, in Kumbagāma Kumba, in Nandigāma Nandika, Khānu in Khānugāma but in Tamba and Unnama the two, uncle and nephew, named Tamba and Unnama. Jambu also did he subdue, and each village was named after (its commander.) 11 12 13 14 15

When the monarch heard (that it was said:) 'Not knowing their own army they slay their own people', he made this solemn declaration:[2] 'Not for the joy of sovereignty is this toil of mine, my striving (has been) ever to establish the doctrine of the Sambuddha. And even as this is truth may the armour on the body of my soldiers take the colour of fire.' And now it came to pass even thus. 16 17 18

All the Damiḷas on the bank of the river who had escaped death threw themselves for protection into the city named Vijitanagara.[3] In a favourable open country he pitched a camp, and this became known by the name Khandhāvārapiṭṭhi. 19 20

Since the king, in order to take Vijitanagara, would fain put Nandhimitta to the test, he let loose Kaṇḍula upon him (once) when he saw him coming towards him. When the 21 22

[1] The allusion is too terse for us to make any safe conjecture as to the cunning mentioned. According to the Ṭīkā (vivāhakaraṇalesena) the reference is to Gāmaṇi's promising to his adversary marriage with his mother, and with it the expectation of government.

[2] On saccakiriyā see note to 18. 39.

[3] Near the northern bank of the Kālavāpi (Kaḷuwæwa), about 24 miles SSE. from Anurādhapura.

elephant came to overpower him, Nandhimitta seized with his hands his two tusks and forced him on his haunches.
23 Since Nandhimitta fought with the elephant the village built on the spot where (it came to pass) is therefore named Hatthipora.

24 When the king had (thus) put them both to the test he marched to Vijitanagara. Near the south gate befell a
25 fearful battle between the warriors. But near the east gate did Veḷusumana, sitting on his horse, slay Damiḷas in great numbers.

26 The Damiḷas shut the gate and the king sent thither his men. Kaṇḍula and Nandhimitta and Sūranimila, at the
27 south gate, and the three, Mahāsoṇa, Goṭha and Theraputta,
28 at the three other gates did their (great) deeds. The city had three trenches, was guarded by a high wall, furnished with gates of wrought iron, difficult for enemies to destroy.
29 Placing himself upon his knees and battering stones, mortar and bricks with his tusks did the elephant attack the gate of
30 iron. But the Damiḷas who stood upon the gate-tower hurled down weapons of every kind, balls of red-hot iron and molten
31 pitch. When the smoking pitch poured on his back Kaṇḍula, tormented with pains, betook him to a pool of water and dived there.

32 'Here is no surā-draught[1] for thee, go forth to the destroying of the iron gate, destroy the gate!' thus said Goṭhaimbara
33 to him. Then did the best of elephants again proudly take heart, and trumpeting he reared himself out of the water and stood defiantly on firm land.

34 The elephants' physician washed the pitch away and put on balm; the king mounted the elephant and, stroking
35 his temples with his hand, he cheered him on with the words: 'To thee I give, dear Kaṇḍula, the lordship over the whole island of Laṅkā.' And when he had had choice
36 fodder given to him, had covered him with a cloth and had put his armour on him and had bound upon his skin a seven

[1] Surā is an intoxicating drink. The meaning is: it is not for pleasure's sake that thou hast come here.

times folded buffalo-hide and above it had laid a hide steeped 37 in oil he set him free. Roaring like thunder he came, daring danger, and with his tusks pierced the panels of the gate and 38 trampled the threshold with his feet; and with uproar the gate crashed to the ground together with the arches of the gate. The crumbling mass from the gate-tower that fell 39 upon the elephant's back did Nandhimitta dash aside, striking it with his arms. When Kaṇḍula saw his deed, in contentment 40 of heart he ceased from the former wrath he had nursed since he (Nandhimitta) had seized him by the tusks.

That he might enter the town close behind him Kaṇḍula 41 the best of elephants turned (to Nandhimitta) and looked at that warrior. But Nandhimitta thought: 'I will not enter 42 (the town) by the way opened by the elephant' and with his arm did he break down the wall. Eighteen cubits high 43 and eight usabhas long it crashed together. The (elephant) looked on Sūranimila, but he too would not (follow in) the track but dashed forward, leaping the wall into the town. 44 Goṭha also and Soṇa pressed forward, each one breaking down a gate. The elephant seized a cart-wheel, Mitta a waggon- 45 frame, Goṭha a cocos-palm, Nimila his good sword, Mahāsoṇa 46 a palmyra-palm, Theraputta his great club,[1] and thus, rushing each by himself into the streets, they shattered the Damiḷas there.

When the king in four months had destroyed Vijitanagara 47 he went thence to Girilaka and slew the Damiḷa Giriya. Thence he marched to Mahelanagara that had a triple trench 48 and was surrounded by an undergrowth of kadamba flowers, possessed but one gate and was hard to come at; and staying 49 there four months the king subdued the commander of Mahela by a cunningly planned battle.[2] Then nearing Anurādhapura 50 the king pitched his camp south of the Kāsa-mountain.[3] When he had made a tank there in the month Jeṭṭhamūla he held 51

[1] Cf. 23. 58.

[2] Mantayuddhena. TURNOUR translates: 'By diplomatic stratagem.'

[3] On parato see note to 36. 56; on Kāsapabbata, note to 10. 27.

a water-festival. There is to be found the village named Pajjotanagara.

52 When the king Eḷāra heard that king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was come to do battle he called together his ministers and said:
53 'This king is himself a warrior and in truth many warriors (follow him). What think the ministers, what should we
54 do?' King Eḷāra's warriors, led by Dīghajantu, resolved: 'To-
55 morrow will we give battle.' The king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi also took counsel with his mother and by her counsel formed thirty-two
56 bodies of troops. In these the king placed parasol-bearers and figures of a king;[1] the monarch himself took his place in the innermost body of troops.

57 When Eḷāra in full armour had mounted his elephant Mahāpabbata he came thither with chariots, soldiers and
58 beasts for riders. When the battle began the mighty and terrible Dīghajantu seized his sword and shield for battle,
59 and leaping eighteen cubits up into the air and cleaving the effigy of the king with his sword, he scattered the first body
60 of troops. When the mighty (warrior) had in this manner scattered also the other bodies of troops, he charged at the
61 body of troops with which king Gāmaṇi stood. But when he began to attack the king, the mighty warrior Sūranimila
62 insulted him, proclaiming his own name.[2] Dīghajantu thought: 'I will slay him,' and leaped into the air full of rage. But Sūranimila held the shield toward him as he alighted (in
63 leaping). But Dīghajantu thought: 'I will cleave him in twain, together with the shield,' and struck the shield with
64 the sword. Then Sūranimila[3] let go the shield. And as he clove (only) the shield thus released Dīghajantu fell there, and Sūranimila, springing up, slew the fallen (man) with his
65 spear. Phussadeva blew his conch shell, the army of the Damiḷas was scattered; nay, Eḷāra turned to flee and they

[1] Ṭīkā: rañño paṭirūpakaṃ kaṭṭhamayarūpakaṃ ti, i.e. wooden figures to represent the king.

[2] The usual form of challenge to single combat.

[3] In the original text of vv. 62, 63 there are only the pronouns itaro, itaro, so, itaro, instead of the names Dīghajantu, Sūranimila, Dīghajantu, Sūranimila.

slew many Damiḷas. The water in the tank there was dyed 66 red with the blood of the slain, therefore it was known by the name Kulantavāpi.[1]

King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi proclaimed with beat of drum: 'None 67 but myself shall slay Eḷāra.' When he himself, armed, had 68 mounted the armed elephant Kaṇḍula he pursued Eḷāra and came to the south gate (of Anurādhapura).

Near the south gate of the city the two kings fought; 69 Eḷāra hurled his dart, Gāmaṇi evaded it; he made his own 70 elephant pierce (Eḷāra's) elephant with his tusks and he hurled his dart at Eḷāra; and this (latter) fell there, with his elephant.

When he had thus been victorious in battle and had united 71 Laṅkā under one rule[2] he marched, with chariots, troops and beasts for riders, into the capital. In the city he caused the 72 drum to be beaten, and when he had summoned the people from a yojana around he celebrated the funeral rites for king Eḷāra. On the spot where his body had fallen he burned it 73 with the catafalque, and there did he build a monument and ordain worship. And even to this day the princes of Laṅkā, 74 when they draw near to this place, are wont to silence their music because of this worship.

When he had thus overpowered thirty-two Damiḷa kings 75 DUṬṬHAGĀMAṆI ruled over Laṅkā in single sovereignty.

When Vijitanagara was destroyed the hero Dīghajantuka 76 had told Eḷāra of the valour of his nephew, and to this 77 nephew named Bhalluka he had sent a message to come hither. When Bhalluka had received (the message)[3] from him 78 he landed here, on the seventh day after the day of the burning of Eḷāra, with sixty thousand men.

Although he heard of the king's death after he had landed 79

[1] I would now like to adopt the form of this name as given in the Burmese MSS., as it gives good sense: 'End of the tribe.' The Ṭīkā ed. has Kulatthavāpi. This, however, is no guarantee for the reading of the MSS.

[2] Ekātapattaka, lit. 'Being under *one* parasol (ātapatta).' Cf. ekachattena in v. 75.

[3] The Ṭīkā adds to tassa the subst. lekhasaṃdesaṃ.

yet, from shame, with the purpose: 'I will do battle,' he
80 pressed on from Mahātittha hither.[1] He pitched his camp near the village Kolambahālaka.[2]

When the king heard of his coming he marched forth to
81 battle in full panoply of war, mounted on the elephant Kaṇḍula, with warriors mounted on elephants, horses and chariots, and with foot-soldiers in great numbers.

82 Ummādaphussadeva, who was the best archer in all the island (followed) armed with the five weapons,[3] and the rest
83 of the heroes followed him (also). While the raging battle went forward Bhalluka in his armour came at the king
84 there; but Kaṇḍula, the king of elephants, to weaken his onslaught, yielded his ground quite slowly and the army with
85 him drew also back quite slowly. The king said: 'Aforetime in twenty-eight battles he has never retreated, what may this
86 be, Phussadeva?' And he answered: 'Victory lies behind us, O king; looking to the field of victory the elephant draws
87 back, and at the place of victory he will halt.' And when the elephant had retreated he stood firm beside (the shrine of) the guardian god of the city within the precincts of the Mahāvihāra.

88 When the king of elephants had halted here the Damiḷa Bhalluka came toward the king in that place and mocked at
89 the ruler of the land. Covering his mouth with his sword the king returned insult for insult. 'I will send (an arrow[4]) into
90 the king's mouth,' thought the other, and he let fly an arrow. The arrow struck on the sword-blade and fell to the ground. And Bhalluka, who thought: 'He is struck in the mouth,'
91 uttered a shout for joy. But the mighty Phussadeva sitting behind the king, let fly an arrow into his mouth wherewith (as
92 the arrow passed) he lightly touched the king's ear-ring. And since he made him thus to fall with his feet toward the king, he let fly yet another arrow at the falling man and struck

[1] To Anurādhapura. Cf. note to 7. 58.

[2] It is called Kolambālaka in 33. 42, and was situated (cf. note to that passage) not far from the north gate of Anurādhapura.

[3] See note to 7. 16.

[4] After pātemi 'I let fly', understand 'kaṇḍaṃ', as in the Ṭīkā.

him in the knee; and making him (now) to turn with his 93 head toward the king, thus with swift hand he brought him down.[1] When Bhalluka had fallen a shout of victory went up.

To make known his fault Phussadeva himself forthwith cut 94 off the lobe of his own ear and showed the king the blood streaming down. When the king saw this he asked: 'What does 95 this mean?' 'I have carried out the royal justice upon myself,' he said (in answer) to the ruler of the land. And to the 96 question: 'What is thy guilt?' he answered: 'Striking thy ear-ring.' 'Why hast thou done this, my brother, taking as guilt that which was no guilt?' replied the great king, and 97 in gratitude he said moreover: 'Great shall be thy honourable guerdon, even as thy arrow.'

When the king, after winning the victory, had slain all 98 the Damiḷas he went up on the terrace of the palace, and when, in the royal chamber there in the midst of the dancers 99 and ministers, he had sent for Phussadeva's arrow and had set it in the ground with the feathered end uppermost, he 100 covered the dart over and over with kahāpaṇas[2] poured forth upon it, and these he forthwith caused to be given to Phussadeva.

Sitting then on the terrace of the royal palace, adorned, 101 lighted with fragrant lamps and filled with many a perfume, 102 magnificent with nymphs in the guise of dancing-girls, while he rested on his soft and fair couch, covered with costly draperies, 103 he, looking back upon his glorious victory, great though it was, knew no joy, remembering that thereby was wrought the destruction of millions (of beings).

When the arahants in Piyaṅgudīpa[3] knew his thought 104 they sent eight arahants to comfort the king. And they, 105 coming in the middle watch of the night, alighted at the

[1] Pādato katvā and sīsato katvā, lit. he made him 'footwise' or 'headwise'. Rājānaṃ (Duṭṭhagāmaṇim) is dependent on pādato (sīsato). On the first shot Bhalluka fell backwards, so that he would have lain with his feet towards Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. To prevent this Phussadeva then shot a second arrow at him, which struck Bhalluka in the knee, even as he fell, so that he now fell forward on his face. From that moment he lay in the posture of one conquered and overthrown, or of a slave before the king.

[2] See note to 4. 13. [3] See note to 24 25.

palace-gate. Making known that they were come thither through the air they mounted to the terrace of the palace.

106 The great king greeted them, and when he had invited them to be seated and had done them reverence in many ways he

107 asked the reason of their coming. 'We are sent by the brotherhood at Piyaṅgudīpa to comfort thee, O lord of men.'

108 And thereon the king said again to them: 'How shall there be any comfort for me, O venerable sirs, since by me was caused the slaughter of a great host numbering millions?'

109 'From this deed arises no hindrance in thy way to heaven. Only one and a half human beings have been slain here by

110 thee, O lord of men. The one had come unto the (three) refuges, the other had taken on himself the five precepts.[1] Unbelievers and men of evil life were the rest, not more to be

111 esteemed than beasts. But as for thee, thou wilt bring glory to the doctrine of the Buddha in manifold ways; therefore cast away care from thy heart, O ruler of men!'

112 Thus exhorted by them the great king took comfort. When he had bidden them farewell and had given them leave to

113 depart he lay down again and thought: 'Without the brotherhood you shall never take a meal,' thus our mother and father

114 have caused to swear us in our boyhood at the meal. Have I ever eaten anything whatsoever without giving to the brotherhood of bhikkhus?' Then he saw that he had, all

115 unthinkingly, eaten pepper in the pod, at the morning meal, leaving none for the brotherhood; and he thought: 'For this I must do penance.'

116 Should a man think on the hosts of human beings murdered for greed in countless myriads, and should he carefully keep in mind the evil (arising from that), and should he also very carefully keep in mind the mortality as being the murderer of all, then will he, in this way, shortly win freedom from suffering and a happy condition.

Here ends the twenty-fifth chapter, called 'The Victory of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] See notes to 1. 32 and 62.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE CONSECRATING OF THE MARICAVAṬṬI-VIHĀRA

WHEN that king of high renown had united Laṅkā in one kingdom he distributed places of honour to his warriors according to their rank. The warrior Theraputtābhaya would not have that which was allotted to him, and being asked: 'Wherefore?' he answered: 'It is war.' And questioned (yet again): 'When a single realm is created what war is there?' he answered: 'I will do battle with those rebels, the passions, (battle) wherein victory is hard to win.' Thus said he, and again and again the king sought to restrain him. When he had entreated again and again he took the pabbajjā with the king's consent. After taking the pabbajjā he attained in time to arahantship, and he lived in the midst of five hundred (bhikkhus) who had overcome the āsavas. 1 2 3 4 5

When the week of the festival of kingship was gone by the fearless king Abhaya,[1] who had carried out the consecration with great pomp, went to the Tissa-tank, that was adorned according to the festival custom, to hold festival plays there and to observe the tradition of crowned kings. 6 7

All that had been made ready for the king and hundreds of offerings did they place on the spot where the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra[2] (afterwards stood). There in the very place where the thūpa (afterwards) stood the king's people who carried the spear planted the splendid spear with the relic.[3] When the king had disported himself in the water the whole day 8 9 10

[1] A play upon the words abhayo and gatabhayo.

[2] Now Miriswæṭi in the south-west part of Anurādhapura, north of Tissawæwa. SMITHER, *Architectural Remains, Anurádhapura*, p. 19 foll.; PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 294 foll.

[3] Cf. 25. 1, with note.

through, together with the women of the harem, he said, in the evening : 'We will go hence ; carry the spear before us.'

11 And the people entrusted with (this duty) could not move the spear from its place ; and the king's soldiers came to-
12 gether and brought offerings of perfumes and flowers. When the king saw this great miracle, glad at heart he appointed sentinels there, and after he had returned forthwith into
13 the city he built a cetiya in such wise that it enclosed the spear and founded a vihāra that enclosed the thūpa.

14 In three years the vihāra was finished and the ruler of men called the brotherhood together to hold the festival (on
15 the consecration) of the monastery. A hundred thousand bhikkhus and ninety thousand bhikkhuṇīs were gathered together
16 there. Then in this assembly the king spoke thus to the brotherhood : 'Without a thought of the brotherhood, vener-
17 able sirs, I ate pepper in the pod. Thinking : This shall be my act of expiation, I have built the pleasant Maricavaṭṭi-
18 vihāra, together with the cetiya. May the brotherhood accept it !' With these words he poured forth the (ceremonial) water of a gift and piously gave the monastery to the brother-
19 hood. When he had set up a great and beautiful hall in the vihāra and round about it, he commanded that lavish gifts
20 should be given there to the brotherhood. The hall was so planned that stakes were set even in the water of the Abhaya-tank,[1] what need of further words to speak of the remaining space (covered) ?

21 When the ruler of men had given food, drink and so forth, for a week, he offered as a gift the whole of the costly
22 necessaries for samaṇas.[2] These necessaries began with a cost of a hundred thousand (kahāpaṇas) and ended with a cost of
23 a thousand. All this did the brotherhood receive. The money that was spent there in gratitude by the wise king,

[1] See note to 10. 84.

[2] The most costly parikkhāra (see note to 4. 26) was allotted to the most distinguished monks (Ṭī. saṃghattherānaṃ); the value was then graduated according to the rank of the recipient. The literal translation runs thus: the parikkhāra had at first (at the beginning) the value of . . ., at the end the value of . . . .

who was a hero in battle as in largess, whose pure heart was filled with faith in the Three Gems, who desired to raise the (Buddha's) doctrine to glory, (that was spent) to honour the 24 Three Gems, beginning with the building of the thūpa and ending with the festival of the vihāra, (all this money), leaving 25 aside the rest of the priceless (gifts), is reckoned as but one less than twenty koṭis.[1]

Treasures which, in truth, bear on them the blot of the five 26 faults[2] become, if they be acquired by people who are gifted with special wisdom, possessed of the five advantages;[3] therefore let the wise man strive to have them thus.

Here ends the twenty-sixth chapter, called 'The Consecrating of the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] The construction of the sentence in vv. 23-25 is thus: dhanāni tena kataññunā raññā pariccattāni, ratanattayaṃ pūjetuṃ—sesāni anagghāni (dānāni) vimuñciya—honti ekāya ūnavīsatikoṭiyo. The instrumental cases yuddhe dāne ca sūrena, sūrinā, ratanattaye pasannāmalacittena, sāsanujjotanatthinā are attributes of raññā, and the plural neuter thūpakārāpanādito vihāramahanantāni attribute of dhanāni.

[2] According to the Ṭīkā the five dangers which threaten the wealth are meant: loss by fire, water, living creatures, confiscation or brigandage.

[3] The construction is: bhogā . . . honti . . . gahītasārā. The five benefits are, according to the Ṭīkā: popularity among men, high esteem among pious men, fame, fidelity in fulfilment of lay-duties, and attainment of heaven after death. These advantages are possessed by a kingdom when well governed.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE CONSECRATING OF THE LOHAPĀSĀDA

1 HEREUPON the king called to mind the tradition known to all, and duly handed down: 'The thera rich in merit, ever intent on meritorious works, who formed his resolves in 2 wisdom, who converted the island did, as is known, speak thus to the king, my ancestor: "Thy descendant, the king 3 Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, the wise, will hereafter found the Great Thūpa, the splendid Soṇṇamālī[1] a hundred and twenty cubits 4 in height, and an uposatha-house, moreover, adorned with manifold gems, making it nine stories high, namely the Lohapāsāda."'

5 Thus thought the ruler of the land, and finding, when he made search, a gold plate kept in a chest and laid by in the 6 palace with such a written record thereon, he commanded that the inscription be read aloud: 'When one hundred and 7 thirty-six years have run their course, in future time will Kākavaṇṇa's son, the ruler of men, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, build 8 this and that in such and such wise.' When the king had heard this read he uttered a cry of joy and clapped his hands.[2] Then early in the morning he went to the beautiful Mahā-9 megha-park, and when he had arranged a gathering together of the brotherhood of the bhikkhus he said to them: 'I will 10 build for you a pāsāda[3] like to a palace of the gods. Send

[1] I.e. 'provided with golden garlands,' now Ruwanwæli. The usual designation in Mah. is Mahāthūpa.

[2] For the sense of apphoṭeti (=Skt. ā-sphoṭayati) cf. Thūpavaṃsa, 33⁹⁻¹⁰: vāmahatthaṃ ābhujitvā dakkhiṇahatthena apphoṭesi.

[3] See note to v. 14. The building was destined to contain the cells of the bhikkhus.

to a celestial palace[1] and make me a drawing of it.' The brotherhood of the bhikkhus sent thither eight (theras) who had overcome the āsavas.

In the time of the sage Kassapa[2] a brahman named Asoka, 11 who had set out eight ticket-meals[3] (to be apportioned) to the brethren, commanded his serving-woman named Bīraṇī: 12 'Give of this continually.' When she had given these gifts faithfully her whole life long she left this (world) and was 13 reborn as a lovely maiden in a gleaming palace, floating in the air, (and she was) continually served by a thousand nymphs. Her gem-palace was twelve yojanas high[4] and 14 measured forty-eight yojanas round about; it was adorned 15 with a thousand jutting window-chambers, nine-storied and provided with a thousand chambers, gleaming with light, four-sided, with a thousand shell-garlands and with windows 16 as eyes and provided with a vedikā (adorned) with a network of little bells. In the middle of the (building) was the 17 beautiful Ambalaṭṭhika-pāsāda, visible from every side, bright with pennons hung out. When the theras, going to the 18 heaven of the thirty-three (gods), saw that (palace) they made a drawing of it with red arsenic upon a linen cloth, and they returned, and being arrived they showed the linen 19 to the brotherhood. The brotherhood took the linen and sent it to the king. When the king full of joy saw it he went 20

[1] By vimāna are meant the palaces serving as abodes for the gods and happy spirits. Cf. the Vimānavatthu, note to 14. 58.

[2] The last Buddha before Gotama; see 1. 10; 15. 125.

[3] Salākabhatta. See note to 15. 205.

[4] Here then we have a construction of several stories, diminishing in size towards the top (navabhūmika!) after the style of the Assyro-Babylonian ziggarat (RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, p. 70 foll.; PERROT et CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'antiquité*, ii, p. 390 foll.). Such a building is the Sat-mahal-prāsāda at Polannaruwa, although belonging to a later time. See TENNENT, *Ceylon*, ii, p. 588; BURROWS, *Archaeological Report*, x, 1886, p. 8; FERGUSSON, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1910, i, p. 245; *Arch. Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report*, 1903 (lxv, 1908), p. 14 foll. The word pāsāda serves now to designate the graduated galleries which form the base of thūpas. See SMITHER, *Anurádhapura*, p. 20, &c.

to the splendid ārāma and caused the noble Lohapāsāda to be built after the drawing.

21 At the time that the work was begun the generous (king) commanded that eight hundred thousand gold pieces should be
22 placed at each of the four gates; moreover, at each gate he commanded them to lay a thousand bundles of garments and many
23 pitchers filled with ball-sugar, oil, sugar-dust, and honey, and proclaiming, 'No work is to be done here without reward,' he had the work done (by the people), appraised, and their wage given to them.

24 The pāsāda was four-sided, (measuring) on each side a
25 hundred cubits, and even so much in height. In this most beautiful of palaces there were nine stories, and in each story
26 a hundred window-chambers. All the chambers were overlaid with silver and their coral vedikās[1] were adorned with mani-
27 fold precious stones, gay with various gems were the lotus-flowers[2] on the (vedikās) and they (the vedikās) were surrounded with rows of little silver bells.

28 A thousand well-arranged chambers were in the pāsāda,
29 overlaid with various gems and adorned with windows. And since he heard of Vessavaṇa's[3] chariot which served as a car for the women, he had a gem-pavilion set up in the middle
30 (of the palace) fashioned in like manner. It was adorned with pillars consisting of precious stones, on which were figures of lions, tigers, and so forth, and shapes of devatās;
31 a bordering of pearl network ran round the edge of the pavilion and thereon was a coral vedikā of the kind that has been described above.

32 Within the pavilion, gaily adorned with the seven gems, stood a shining beauteous throne of ivory with a seat of
33 mountain-crystal, and in the ivory back (was fashioned) a sun

[1] On the balustrades of the projecting windows, cf. the descriptions in FOUCHER, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra*, fig. 100; GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhist. Kunst*, fig. 27. See Appendix D, no. 30.

[2] For lotus-blossoms as a frequent ornament: FOUCHER, in the same work, fig. 97, 98; GRÜNWEDEL, fig. 3; balustrade with leaf-ornaments on cornices: FOUCHER, fig. 99.

[3] See note to 10. 89.

in gold, a moon in silver, and stars in pearls, and lotus-blossoms 34 made of various gems were fitly placed here and there and Jātaka-tales in the same place [1] within a festoon of gold.

On the exceedingly beautiful throne covered with costly 35 cushions was placed a beautiful fan of ivory, gleaming (magnificently), and a white parasol with a coral foot, resting 36 on mountain-crystal and having a silver staff, shone forth over the throne. On it, depicted in the seven gems, were 37 the eight auspicious figures [2] and rows of figures of beasts with jewels and pearls in between; and rows of little silver 38 bells were hung upon the edge of the parasol. Palace, parasol, throne, and pavilion were beyond price.

Costly beds and chairs, according to rank, and carpets and 39 coverlets of great price did he command them to spread about. The rinsing-vessel and the ladle (belonging thereto) were even 40 of gold; [3] what need then to speak of the other utensils in the palace? Surrounded by a beautiful enclosure and provided 41 with four gateways the pāsāda gleamed in its magnificence like the hall in the heaven of the thirty-three (gods). The 42 pāsāda was covered over with plates of copper, and thence came its name 'Brazen palace'.

When the Lohapāsāda was ready the king assembled the 43 brotherhood, and the brotherhood came together as at the consecration-festival of the Maricavaṭṭi (vihāra). Those 44 bhikkhus who were yet simple folk stood on the first story, those learned in the tipiṭaka on the second, but those who had entered on the path of salvation and the others (stood) 45

[1] On events in the former existences of the Buddha as a motive for decorative scenes see particularly FOUCHER, *l. l.*, p. 270 foll. For arrangements in the manner described here, see CUNNINGHAM, *Bharhut*, plate xl foll.

[2] WIJESIṂHA enumerates the aṭṭha maṅgalikāni: lion, bull, elephant, water-pitcher, fan, standard, conch-shell, lamp. The Thūpavaṃsa, 64[26], mentions sirivaccha as the first (cf. 30. 65).

[3] Ācāmakumbhī or ācamanakumbhī—thus the Thūpavaṃsa 54[2]—is a vessel to hold water for washing the feet and hands, and is placed at the entrance of the temple (WIJESIṂHA). See M.V. I. 25. 19; C.V. V. 35. 4.

each on one of the third and higher stories,[1] but the arahants stood on those four stories that were highest of all.

46 When the king had bestowed the pāsāda on the brotherhood, after pouring forth the (ceremonial) water of presentation, he commanded, as before, a lavish gift of alms for 47 a week. That which was spent by the generous king for the pāsāda, leaving aside all that which was beyond price, is reckoned at thirty koṭis.

48 The wise who consider how marvellously precious is the giving of alms, while the gathering together of treasures (for oneself) is worthless, give alms lavishly, with a mind freed from the fetters (of lust), mindful of the good of beings.

Here ends the twenty-seventh chapter, called 'the Consecrating of the Lohapāsāda', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] That is, on the 3rd, 4th, and 5th stories stood those who had attained to the first three stages of the path: the sotāpannā, the sakadāgāmino, and the anāgāmino. See notes to 1. 33, 15. 18 and 13. 17. 'Simple folk' in verse 44 is puthujjanā, the unconverted, those who had not even entered on the path.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE OBTAINING OF THE WHEREWITHAL TO BUILD THE GREAT THŪPA

SPENDING a hundred thousand (pieces of money) the king 1 hereupon commanded a great and splendid ceremony of gifts for the great Bodhi-tree. As he then, when entering the 2 city, saw the pillar of stone raised upon the place of the (future) thūpa and remembered the old tradition, he became glad, thinking: 'I will build the Great Thūpa.' Then he mounted 3 the high terrace (of his palace), and when he had taken his repast and had lain down he thought thus: 'At the conquer- 4 ing of the Damiḷas this people was oppressed by me. It is not possible to levy a tax; yet if without a tax I build the 5 Great Thūpa how shall I be able to have bricks duly made?'

As he thus reflected the devatā of the parasol observed his 6 thought, and thereupon arose a tumult among the gods; when Sakka was aware of this he said to Vissakamma:[1] 'King Gāmaṇi has been pondering over the bricks for the 7 cetiya: Go thou a yojana from the city near the Gambhīra-river and prepare the bricks there.'[2] 8

Thus commanded by Sakka, Vissakamma came hither[3] and prepared the bricks in that very place.

In the morning a huntsman there went into the forest with 9 his dogs; the devatā of the place appeared to the huntsman in the form of an iguana. The hunter pursued it, and 10 when he came (to the place) and saw the bricks, and when the iguana vanished there, he thought: 'Our king intends to 11 build the Great Thūpa;[4] here is an aid thereto!' Thereupon he went and told (this thing). When the king, to whom his 12

[1] See note to 18. 24. [2] See note to 7. 44.

[3] To Laṅkā or to Anurādhapura. [4] Or 'a great thūpa'.

people's good was dear, heard his welcome words he, glad at heart, bestowed on him a rich guerdon.

13 In a north-easterly direction from the city, at a distance of three yojanas and near Ācaraviṭṭhigāma, on a plain covering 14 sixteen karīsas (of land) there appeared nuggets of gold of different sizes; the greatest measured a span, the least were 15 of a finger's measure. When the dwellers in the village saw the earth full of gold, they put some of it into a gold vessel and went and told the king of this matter.

16 On the east side of the city, at a distance of seven yojanas, on the further bank of the river and near Tambapiṭṭha, copper 17 appeared. And the dwellers in the village there put the nuggets of copper into a vessel, and when they had sought the king they told him this matter.

18 In a south-easterly direction from the city, four yojanas distant, near the village of Sumanavāpi many precious stones 19 appeared. The dwellers in the village put them, mingled with sapphires and rubies, into a vessel and went and showed them to the king.

20 In a southerly direction from the city, at a distance of eight yojanas, silver appeared in the Ambaṭṭhakola-cave.[1] 21 A merchant from the city, taking many waggons with him, in order to bring ginger and so forth from Malaya, had set 22 out for Malaya. Not far from the cave he brought the waggons to a halt and since he had need of wood for whips 23 he went up that mountain. As he saw here a branch of a bread-fruit-tree, bearing one single fruit as large as a water-pitcher, and dragged down by the weight of the fruit, he cut 24 the (fruit) which was lying on a stone away from the stalk with his knife, and thinking: 'I will give the first (produce as alms),' with faith he announced the (meal) time. And there came thither four (theras) who were free

[1] Where the Rajatalena-vihāra (Mah. 35. 4) was afterwards built, now the Ridi-vihāra (Silver Monastery), to the north-east of Kurunægala, cf. E. MÜLLER, *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, p. 39; TURNOUR, *Mah. Index*, s.v. Ambaṭṭhakola; RHYS DAVIDS, *Ancient Coins*, &c., p. 17. The distance between Anurādhapura and Ridi-vihāra is 55 miles = 95 km. as the crow flies.

from the āsavas. When he had greeted them gladly and 25 had invited them with all reverence to be seated, he cut away the rind around the stalk with his knife and tore out the 26 bottom (of the fruit), and pouring the juice which filled the hollow forth into their bowls he offered them the four bowls filled with fruit-juice. They accepted them and went their way. 27 Then he yet again[1] announced the (meal) time. Four other theras, free from the āsavas, appeared before him. He took their 28 alms-bowls and when he had filled them with the kernels of the bread-fruit he gave them back. Three went their way, but one did not depart. In order to show him the silver he 29 went further down and seating himself near the cave he ate the kernels. When the merchant also had eaten as he wished 30 of the kernels that were left, and had put the rest in a bundle, he went on, following the track of the thera, and when he saw the 31 thera he showed him the (usual) attentions. The thera opened a path for him to the mouth of the cavern: 'Go thou now 32 also on this path, lay brother!' When he had done reverence to the thera he went that way and saw the cave. Standing 33 by the mouth of the cave and seeing the silver he struck upon it with his axe, and when he knew it to be silver he took 34 a lump of the silver and went to his freight-waggons. Then leaving the waggons behind and taking the lump of silver with him the excellent merchant went in haste to Anurādha- 35 pura and told the king of this matter, showing him the silver.

In a westerly direction from the city, at a distance of five 36 yojanas, near the landing-place Uruvelā,[2] pearls in size like to great myrobalan fruits, mingled with coral, six waggon- 37 loads, came forth to the dry land. Fishermen who saw them piled them together in a heap, and taking the pearls together 38 with coral in a vessel they went to the king and told him of this matter.

In a northerly direction from the city, at a distance of 39

[1] Pana should probably be altered to puna.

[2] According to our passage the site of Uruvelā seems to be near the mouth of the Kala-oya, which is distant about 40 miles, as the crow flies, from Anurādhapura.

seven yojanas, in a cave opening on the Peḷivāpikagāma-[1]
40 tank, above on the sand, four splendid gems had formed in size like to a small mill-stone, in colour like flax-flowers,
41 (radiantly) beautiful. When a hunter with his dogs saw these he came to the king and told him: 'I have seen precious stones of such and such a kind.'

42 The lord of the land, rich in merit, heard, on one and the same day, that the bricks and the other (treasures) had
43 appeared for the Great Thūpa. Glad at heart he bestowed due reward upon those people, and appointing them forthwith as watchers he had the treasures all brought to him.

44 Merit, that a man has thus heaped up with believing heart, careless of insupportable ills of the body, brings to pass hundreds of results which are a mine of happiness; therefore one must do works of merit with believing heart.

Here ends the twenty-eighth chapter, called 'the Obtaining of the wherewithal to build the Great Thūpa', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] The Peḷivāpi is the present Vavunik-kulam, a little over 50 miles north of Anurādhapura. The river, of which the damming-up has formed the tank, is called Pāli-āru. PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 256, 365-366.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE BEGINNING OF THE GREAT THŪPA

WHEN the wherewithal to build was thus brought together 1 he began the work of the Great Thūpa on the full-moon day of the month Vesākha,[1] when the Visākha-constellation had appeared. When he had ordered to take away the stone pillar 2 the lord of the land had the place for the thūpa dug out to a depth of seven cubits[2] to make it firm in every way. Round stones that he commanded his soldiers to bring hither 3 did he cause to be broken with hammers, and then did he, having knowledge of the right and the wrong ways, command 4 that the crushed stone, to make the ground firmer, be stamped down by great elephants whose feet were bound with leather.

The fine clay that is to be found on the spot, for ever 5 moist, where the heavenly Gaṅgā falls down (upon the earth[3]) (on a space) thirty yojanas around, is called because of its fine- 6 ness, 'butter-clay.' Sāmaṇeras who had overcome the āsavas, brought the clay hither from that place. The king commanded 7 that the clay be spread over the layer of stones and that bricks then be laid over the clay, over these a rough cement and over 8 this cinnabar,[4] and over this a network of iron, and over this sweet-scented marumba[5] that was brought by the sāmaṇeras 9

[1] See note to 1. 12.

[2] The reading sattahatthe is undoubtedly the correct one. WIJESIṆHA (note to this passage) says: the Ṭīkā has sata. That, however, is not the case. It also reads satta.

[3] The idea is that the Gaṅgā flows through the atmosphere, the earth and underworld.

[4] Kuruvinda is 'ruby' or 'cinnabar'.

[5] Marumba is used (C.V. V. 14. 5; 35.4; VI. 3. 8) for besprinkling a damp pariveṇa (living-cell). At Pācittiya X. 2 (*Vin. Piṭ.* iv, p. 33) pāsāṇā, sakkharā, kaṭhalā, marumbā, vālikā follow one upon another.

from the Himalaya. Over this did the lord of the land com-
10 mand them to lay mountain-crystal. Over the layer of mountain-crystal he had stones spread; everywhere throughout the
11 work did the clay called butter-clay serve (as cement). With resin of the kapittha-tree,[1] dissolved in sweetened water,[2]
12 the lord of chariots laid over the stones a sheet of copper eight inches thick, and over this, with arsenic dissolved in sesamum-oil, (he laid) a sheet of silver seven inches thick.

13 When the king, glad at heart, had thus had preparation made upon the spot where the Great Thūpa was to be built,
14 he arranged, on the fourteenth day of the bright half of the month Āsāḷha, an assembly of the brotherhood of the
15 bhikkhus, and spoke thus: 'To-morrow, venerable sirs, I shall lay the foundation-stone of the Great Cetiya. Then let our
16 whole brotherhood assemble here, to the end that a festival may be held for the Buddha, mindful of the weal of the people; and let the people in festal array, with fragrant flowers and
17 so forth, come to-morrow to the place where the Great Thūpa will be built.'

He entrusted ministers[3] with the adorning of the place of
18 the cetiya. Commanded by the lord of men, they, filled with deep reverence for the Sage (Buddha), adorned the
19 place in manifold ways. The whole city also and the streets leading thither did the king command to be adorned in
20 manifold ways. On the following morning he placed at the four gates of the city many barbers and servants for the
21 bath and for cutting the hair, clothes likewise and fragrant flowers and sweet foods (did) the king (place there) for his
22 people's good, he who rejoiced in the people's welfare. Taking, according to their wish, the things thus put before them, townsfolk and country-people went to the place of the thūpa.

23 The king supported, in order of their rank, by many
24 ministers, richly clothed as befitted their office, surrounded

[1] *Feronia Elephantum.*

[2] Rasodaka is translated by TURNOUR 'water of the small red cocoanut'. The Ṭīkā gives no explanation.

[3] The Ṭīkā, following the Aṭṭhakathā, gives their names, Visākha and Sirideva.

by many dancers richly clothed like to celestial nymphs, (he himself) being clad in his state-raiment, attended by 25 forty thousand men, while around him crashed the music (he being) glorious as the king of the gods; in the evening 26 he who had knowledge of fit and unfit places went to the place of the Great Thūpa,[1] delighting the people (with the sight). A thousand and eight waggon-loads of clothes rolled 27 in bundles did the king place in the midst, and on the four sides he had clothes heaped up in abundance; and moreover 28 he had honey, clarified butter, sugar and so forth set (there) for the festival.

From various (foreign) countries also did many bhikkhus 29 come hither; what need to speak of the coming of the brotherhood living here upon the island? With eighty thou- 30 sand bhikkhus from the region of Rājagaha[2] came the thera Indagutta, the head of a great school. From Isipatana[3] 31 came the great thera Dhammasena with twelve thousand bhikkhus to the place of the cetiya.

With sixty thousand bhikkhus came hither the great thera 32 Piyadassi from the Jetārāma-vihāra.[4] From the Mahāvana 33 (monastery) in Vesālī[5] came the thera Urubuddharakkhita[6] with eighteen thousand bhikkhus. From the Ghositārāma in 34 Kosambī[7] came the thera Urudhammarakkhita with thirty thousand bhikkhus. From the Dakkhiṇāgiri in Ujjenī[8] came 35 the thera Urusaṃgharakkhita with forty thousand ascetics.

With a hundred and sixty thousand bhikkhus came the 36

[1] We should rather expect Mahāthūpapatiṭṭhānaṭṭhānaṃ ṭhānavicakkhaṇo: 'he went to the place where the Great Thūpa should be built, having knowledge of (fitting) places.'

[2] Cf. note to 2. 6.

[3] A park and afterwards a monastery near Bārāṇasī (Benares) where the Buddha had preached his first sermon. M.V. I. 6. 6 foll.

[4] I. e. Jetavana. See note to 1. 44.

[5] See note to 4. 9. Also M.V. VI. 30. 6; C.V. V. 13. 3, and in many other places.

[6] I. e. Mahābuddharakkhita.

[7] See note to 4. 17; M.V. X. 1. 1; C.V. I. 25. 1, and often.

[8] See note to 5. 39; 13. 5. Notice that the names of the three theras in 33, 34, 35, contain the words **buddha, dhamma, saṃgha.**

thera named Mittiṇṇa from the Asokārāma in Pupphapura.[1]
37 From the Kasmīra country came the thera Uttiṇṇa bringing
38 with him two hundred and eighty thousand bhikkhus. The wise Mahādeva came from Pallavabhogga[2] with four hundred
39 and sixty thousand bhikkhus, and from Alasanda[3] the city of the Yonas came the thera Yonamahādhammarakkhita with
40 thirty thousand bhikkhus. From his dwelling by the road through the Viñjhā forest mountains,[4] came the thera Uttara with sixty thousand bhikkhus.

41 The great thera Cittagutta came hither from the Bodhi-
42 maṇḍa-vihāra[5] with thirty thousand bhikkhus. The great thera Candagutta came hither from the Vanavāsa[6] country
43 with eighty thousand ascetics. The great thera Suriyagutta came from the great Kelāsa-vihāra with ninety-six thousand
44 bhikkhus. As for the number of the bhikkhus dwelling in the island who met together from every side, no strict account
45 has been handed down by the ancients. Among all these bhikkhus who were met in that assembly those alone who had overcome the āsavas, as it is told, were ninety-six koṭis.

46 These bhikkhus stood according to their rank around the place of the Great Thūpa, leaving in the midst an open space
47 for the king. As the king stepped into this (space) and saw[7]

[1] I.e. Pāṭaliputta; see note to 4. 31. For Asokārāma, cf. 5. 80.

[2] Pallava is the name of the Persians = Skt. Pallava or Pahlava. Bhoggaṃ is perhaps 'fief'; cf. rājabhoggaṃ in D. I. 87[9] and often elsewhere.

[3] Alexandria in the land of the Yonas, i.e. the Greeks, probably the town founded by the Macedonian king in the country of the Paropanisadae near Kābul. See Arrian, *Anabasis* iii. 28, iv. 22.

[4] I.e. Vindhyā See 19. 6 with note.

[5] A monastery built near the bodhimaṇḍa at Bodhgayā, the place where Gotama attained to Buddhaship.

[6] See note to 12. 31.

[7] The Ṭīkā gives here (from the Aṭṭhakathā) the following peculiar explanation: 'As the king steps into the middle of the circle he expresses the following wish: if his work is to come to a happy issue then, as a sign thereof, may theras who bear the name of the Buddha, his doctrine and his order, take their places on the east, south, and west sides; but on the north side a thera with the name of Ānanda, the Buddha's beloved disciple. Each bhikkhu shall be surrounded by

the brotherhood of bhikkhus standing thus he greeted them joyfully, with believing heart; when he had then duly offered 48 them fragrant flowers and had passed round them three times, turning to the left,[1] he went into the midst, to the consecrated place of the 'filled pitcher'. Then forthwith uplifted by the 49 power of pure gladness he, devoted to the welfare of the beings, commanded that the pure turning staff (for tracing the circular boundary), made of silver and secured (by means 50 of a rope) to a post of gold, be grasped by a minister of noble birth, well attired and in festival array,[2] and, being 51 resolved to allot a great space for the cetiya, he ordered him to walk round (with the turning staff in his hands) along the ground already prepared.[3] But the great thera of wondrous 52 power named Siddhattha, the far-seeing, prevented the king as he did this. Reflecting: 'If our king shall begin to build 53 so great a thūpa death will come upon him, ere the thūpa be finished; moreover, so great a thūpa will be hard to repair,' 54 he, looking to the future, prevented (the measuring of) that great dimension. In agreement with the brotherhood and 55 from reverence toward the thera, the king, though he would fain have made (the thūpa) great, hearkened to the thera's word and did, according to the thera's instruction, allot a 56 moderate space for the cetiya, that the (foundation) stones might be laid.

Eight vases of silver and eight (vases) of gold did he, with 57 tireless zeal, place in the midst, and in a circle around these he 58 placed a thousand and eight new vases, and likewise (around

a troop of companions of the same name. The king's wish is fulfilled.' The theras in question and their companions are called (cf. Ṭīkā, pp. 383-384 and above v 33 foll.) Mahābuddharakkhita, Mahādhammarakkhita, Mahāsaṃgharakkhita, and Mahānanda.

[1] Katvāna tipadakkhiṇaṃ. See note to 18. 36.

[2] Ṭīkā: Abhimangalabhūtenā ti, janehi pīṇitattā abhimaṅgalasammatehi ahatavatthādihi alaṃkārehi patimaṇḍitattā ca samaṅgaliko ti 'he was samaṅgalika because he was liked by the people and because he was adorned with ornaments that were believed to be festival, as new garments (not washed before) and so forth'.

[3] And to draw, in this way, the circular outline of the thūpa.

59 each of these) a hundred and eight garments.[1] Eight splendid bricks did he lay, each one apart by itself.[2] When he then had 60 commanded an official chosen for this and adorned in every way to take one of them, he laid on the east side, which had been 61 prepared with many ceremonies, the first foundation stone,[3] solemnly, upon the sweet-smelling clay.

When jasmine-flowers[4] had been offered on that spot an 62 earthquake came to pass. And he caused the other seven (stones) to be laid by seven (other) ministers and ceremonies (of 63 consecration) to be carried out. Thus he caused the stones to be laid on the day appointed, the fifteenth uposatha day in the bright half of the month Āsāḷha.

64 When he had reverentially greeted the four great theras who were free from the āsavas, who stood there at the four heavenly quarters, and when he had honoured them 65 with gifts he came in due course, greatly rejoicing, to the north-east side, and when he (here) had greeted the great thera Piyadassi, who was free from the āsavas, he took his 66 place near him. Exalting the festival ceremony there this thera preached the true doctrine to him; the preaching of the 67 thera was rich in blessing for the people. The conversion of forty thousand to the true doctrine took place, and (yet) forty thousand (more) became partakers in the fruit of entering 68 into the path of salvation.[5] A thousand lay-folk became even

[1] According to the Ṭīkā from aṭṭhuttare aṭṭhuttare to visuṃ visuṃ is to be read as ONE sentence, so that the stop after pana (in 58 d) in the edition should be deleted. In this case we must add in 58 c, d a second parivāriya with the meaning: 'laying around (them),' and the translation would be 'and in a circle around these he placed a thousand and eight new vases, and eight splendid bricks did he lay, each one apart by itself, (laying in a circle around) each of them a hundred and eight garments'.

[2] Namely East, NE., N., and so forth. The stones are called pavarā as they were of gold.

[3] According to the Ṭīkā the thera Mittasena had mixed the clay (gandhapiṇḍa), the thera Jayasena had poured the water on it.

[4] Jāti and sumanā are both names for *Jasminum grandiflorum*.

[5] They attained to the first stage of sanctification. See notes to 1. 32 and 33.

such as have but one (earthly) existence before them, a thousand became such as have no other (earthly) existence (to come), and a thousand also became arahants.[1] Eighteen 69 thousand bhikkhus and fourteen thousand bhikkhuṇīs attained to arahantship.

Even so may every one whose heart is inclined to (faith in) 70 the Three Gems, knowing that by a benefactor of mankind, whose heart is set on generous giving, the highest blessing is brought to pass for the world, strive toward the attainment of many virtues, as faith and so forth.

Here ends the twenty-ninth chapter, called 'The beginning of the Great Thūpa', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] They attained to the second and third, and to the last and highest stage of sanctification. See notes to 15. 18 and 13. 17.

CHAPTER XXX

THE MAKING OF THE RELIC-CHAMBER

1 WHEN the great king had reverentially greeted the whole brotherhood he invited them, saying: 'Even till the cetiya is 2 finished accept ye alms from me.' The brotherhood would not consent; when he then by degrees[1] prayed (them to 3 accept) for a week he won acceptance, for one week, by the half of the bhikkhus. When he had obtained this from them 4 he, satisfied, had pavilions set up in eighteen places around the place of the thūpa and commanded there, for one week, lavish gifts to the brotherhood. Then he gave the brotherhood leave to depart.

5 Thereupon commanding that the drums be beaten he called the master-builders together with all speed; in number they 6 were five hundred. And one of them answered the king, on his asking: 'How wilt thou make (the thūpa)?' 'Taking a 7 hundred workmen I will use one waggon-load of sand in one day.'

The king rejected him.[2] Thereon they offered (to work with) one half less and yet one half less again, and (at last 8 with) two ammaṇas[3] of sand. These four master-builders also did the king reject. Then an experienced and shrewd master-9 builder said to the king: 'I shall pound (the sand) in a mortar, and then, when it is sifted, have it crushed in the mill and (thus will use) one ammaṇa (only) of sand.'

[1] I.e. limiting his invitation more and more.

[2] The use of too much sand would tell against the durability of the thūpa. Therefore the Ṭīkā makes the king say to the master-builder: 'Shouldst thou do so the cetiya would be like a heap of pure sand and would be covered with grass and bushes.'

[3] As a measure of capacity. The Abhidhānappadīpikā 484 defines the ammaṇa as 11 doṇā. The doṇa is 64 pasatā, i.e. handfuls. Cf. RHYS DAVIDS, *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, pp. 17-18.

And on these words the lord of the land, whose courage 10 was like to Indra's, consented, with the thought: 'There will be no grass nor any such thing on our cetiya,' and he 11 questioned him saying: 'In what form wilt thou make the cetiya?' At that moment Vissakamma[1] entered into (and possessed) him. When the master-builder had had a golden 12 bowl filled with water, he took water in his hand and let it fall on the surface of the water. A great bubble rose up 13 like unto a half-globe of crystal. He said: 'Thus will I make it.' And well-pleased the king bestowed on him 14 a pair of garments worth a thousand (pieces of money) and ornamented shoes and twelve thousand kahāpaṇas.

'How shall I have the bricks transported without laying 15 burdens on the people?' Thus pondered the king in the night-time; when the gods were aware of this they brought 16 night after night bricks to the four gates of the cetiya and laid them down there, always as many as sufficed for one day. When the king heard this, glad at heart, he began work on 17 the thūpa. And he made it known: 'Work shall not be done here without wage.' At every gate he commanded to place 18 sixteen hundred thousand kahāpaṇas, very many garments, different ornaments, solid and liquid foods and drink withal, 19 fragrant flowers, sugar and so forth, as well as the five perfumes for the mouth.

'Let them take of these as they will when they have 20 laboured as they will.' Observing this command the king's work-people allotted (the wages).

A bhikkhu who wished to take part in the building of the 21 thūpa took a lump of clay which he himself had prepared,[2] went to the place of the cetiya, and deceiving the king's 22 work-people, he gave it to a workman. So soon as he received it he knew what it was,[3] perceiving the bhikkhu's design. 23

[1] Cf. the note to 18. 24. Thus it is the god who acts and speaks through the medium of the master-builder.

[2] I.e. had kneaded and mixed. As he received no wage for this he hoped to have a share in the meritorious work of building the thūpa.

[3] He recognized the brick by the difference in the composition.

A dispute arose there. When the king afterwards heard this he came and questioned the workman.

24 'Sire, with flowers in the one hand the bhikkhus are used 25 to give me a piece of clay with the other; but I can only know (just so much) whether he be a bhikkhu from another land or of this country, Sire.'[1]

26 When the king heard this word he appointed an overseer to show him the ascetic who had offered the lump of clay. The other showed him to the overseer and he told the king. 27 The king had three pitchers with jasmine-blossoms placed in the courtyard of the sacred Bodhi-tree and bade the overseer give 28 them to the bhikkhu.[2] When the bhikkhu, observing nothing, had offered them, the overseer told him this while he yet stood there. Then did the ascetic understand.

29 A thera living in Piyaṅgalla in the Koṭṭhivāla district, who also wished to take part in the work of building the cetiya 30 and who was a kinsman of that brick-worker, came hither and when he had made a brick in the size (such as was used there) 31 after having learned (the exact measure) he, deceiving the work-people, gave it to the workman. This man laid it on its place (in the thūpa), and a quarrel arose (on this matter). 32 When the king knew this he asked: 'Is it possible to recognize the brick?' Although the workman knew it, he 33 answered the king: 'It is impossible.' To the question: 'Dost thou know the thera?' he answered: 'Yes.' So that he might be made known the king placed an overseer near 34 him. When the overseer had thereby come to know him he went, with the king's consent, and visited the thera in the 35 Kaṭṭhahāla-pariveṇa and spoke with him; and when he had learned the day of the thera's departure and the place whither

[1] The workman means by this that a more exact description of the personage was impossible to him. The conjectural reading of the Colombo edition nevā ti instead of devāti is unnecessary. The Thūpavaṃsa has also (p. 61[35]): ayaṃ pana āgantuko ayaṃ nevāsiko ti ettakaṃ jānāmi. See Mah. ed., note to this passage.

[2] So that the bhikkhu might be rewarded in this way for his work on the thūpa.

he was going, and had said to him: 'I am going with thee to thy village,' he told the king all. The king commanded that 36 a pair of garments, worth a thousand (pieces of money), and a costly red coverlet be given to him, and when he had (also) 37 commanded to give him many things used by samaṇas, and sugar and a nāḷī[1] of fragrant oil withal, he laid his command upon him.

He went with the thera, and when Piyaṅgallaka was in 38 sight he made the thera sit down in a cool shady place where there was water, and when he had given him sugar-water and 39 had rubbed his feet with fragrant oil and put sandals upon them, he gave him the necessaries (saying): 'For the thera 40 who visits my house[2] have I brought these with me, but the two garments for my son. All this do I give to thee now.' When with these words he had given those (necessaries)[3] to 41 the thera who, after receiving them, set out again upon his journey, he, taking leave of (the thera), told him, in the king's words, the king's command.

While the Great Thūpa was built, people in great numbers 42 who laboured for wages, being converted to the faith, went to heaven. A wise man who perceives that only by inner faith 43 in the Holy One is the way to heaven found, will therefore bring offerings to the thūpa.[4]

Two women, who since they had also laboured here for hire, 44 were re-born in the heaven of the thirty-three (gods), pondered when the thūpa was finished, upon what they had formerly 45

[1] A measure of capacity (Abhidh. 1057), Sinh. næliya, according to CLOUGH 'about three pints wine-measure'.

[2] Kulūpaka or -aga is the name given in a family to a bhikkhu who continually frequents the house to receive alms, and enters thus into confidential relations with the family.

[3] After te must be understood parikkhāre.

[4] It is significant that in the Ṭīkā there is no explanation of verses 42–50. These have indeed the look of a monastic legend (cf. particularly the practical application in verse 43), which may have been interpolated at a later period. In any case the interpolation must be old. It is found in all the groups of MSS. and also in the Kambodian Mahāvaṃsa, and the story appears again in the Thūpavaṃsa.

done, and when they both became aware of the reward of their deeds, they took fragrant flowers and came to do 46 reverence to the thūpa with offerings. When they had offered the fragrant flowers they did homage to the cetiya. At this moment came the thera Mahāsiva who dwelt in 47 Bhātivaṅka (with the thought): 'I will pay homage by night to the Great Thūpa.' As he, leaning against a great 48 sattapaṇṇa-tree,[1] saw those women and without letting himself be seen stood there gazing at their marvellous splendour, he, when their adoration was ended asked them: 49 'Here the whole island shines with the brightness of your bodies; what works have ye done that ye have passed from 50 this world into the world of gods?' The devatās told him of the work done by them in the (building of the) Great Thūpa; thus does faith in the Tathāgata bring a rich reward.

51 The three terraces for the flower-offerings to the thūpa[2] did the theras of miraculous power cause to sink down so soon as they were laid with bricks, making them equal to the 52 surface of the soil. Nine times did they cause them to sink down when they were laid. Then the king called together an 53 assembly of the brotherhood of bhikkhus. Eighty thousand bhikkhus assembled there. The king sought out the brotherhood, and when he had paid homage to them with gifts and had 54 reverentially greeted them he asked the reason of the sinking down of the bricks. The brotherhood answered: 'In order that the thūpa may not sink down of itself was this thing 55 done by the bhikkhus of miraculous power, O great king; they will do it no more, make no alteration and finish the Great Thūpa.'

56 When the king heard this, glad at heart he caused the work on the thūpa to be continued. For the ten flower-terraces[3]

[1] Skt. saptaparṇa, *Alstonia scholaris.*

[2] It seems that pupphādhāna means the three concentric galleries (the so-called pāsāda) which form the base of the thūpa proper. SMITHER, *Architectural Remains, Anurādhapura*, p. 27; PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 286.

[3] I.e. for the nine pupphādhānattayāni which had sunk and the tenth that remained on the surface.

ten koṭis of bricks (were used). The brotherhood of 57 bhikkhus charged the two sāmaṇeras, Uttara and Sumana, saying: 'Bring hither, to (make) the relic-chamber in the cetiya, fat-coloured stones.'[1] And they set out for (the land 58 of) the Northern Kurus[2] and brought from thence six massive fat-coloured stones measuring eighty cubits in length and 59 breadth, bright as the sun, eight inches thick and like to ganṭhi blossoms.[3] When they had laid one on the flower- 60 terrace in the middle and had disposed four (others) on the four sides, in the fashion of a chest, the (theras) of wondrous 61 might placed the sixth, to serve (afterwards) as a lid, upon the east side, making it invisible.

In the midst of the relic-chamber the king placed a bodhi- 62 tree made of jewels, splendid in every way. It had a stem 63 eighteen cubits high and five branches; the root, made of coral, rested on sapphire. The stem made of perfectly pure 64 silver was adorned with leaves made of gems, had withered leaves and fruits of gold and young shoots made of coral. The eight auspicious figures[4] were on the stem and festoons 65 of flowers and beautiful rows of fourfooted beasts and rows of geese. Over it, on the border of a beautiful canopy, was 66 a network of pearl bells and chains of little golden bells and bands here and there. From the four corners of the canopy 67 hung bundles of pearl strings each worth nine hundred thousand (pieces of money). The figures of sun, moon and 68 stars and different lotus-flowers, made of jewels, were fastened to the canopy. A thousand and eight pieces of 69 divers stuffs, precious and of varied colours, were hung to the canopy. Around the bodhi-tree ran a vedikā made of all manner 70 of jewels; the pavement within was made of great myrobalan-pearls.[5]

Rows of vases (some) empty and (some) filled with flowers 71

[1] See note to 1. 39. [2] See note to 1. 18.

[3] The Ṭīkā explains ganṭhipuppha by bandhujīvaka-puppha. Cf. B.R., *Skt.-Wtb.*, s.v. bandhujīva: *Pentapetes phoenicea* (hat eine schöne rote Blume . . .).

[4] Cf. note to 27. 37.

[5] See 11. 14; cf. 28. 36.

made of all kinds of jewels and filled with four kinds of fragrant water were placed at the foot of the bodhi-tree.
72 On a throne, the cost whereof was one koṭi, erected to the east of the bodhi-tree, he placed a shining golden Buddha-
73 image seated. The body and members of this image were duly[1] made of jewels of different colours, beautifully shining. Mahā-
74 brahmā stood there holding a silver parasol and Sakka carry-
75 ing out the consecration with the Vijayuttara shell, Pañcasikha with his lute in his hand,[2] and Kālanāga with the dancing-girls, and the thousand-handed Māra with his elephants and train
76 of followers. Even like the throne to the east (other) thrones were erected, the cost of each being a koṭi, facing the other
77 seven regions of the heavens. And even thus, so that the bodhi-tree was at the head, a couch[3] was placed, also worth one koṭi, adorned with jewels of every kind.

78 The events[4] during the seven weeks[5] he commanded them to depict duly here and there in the relic chamber, and also the
79 prayer of Brahmā,[6] the setting in motion the wheel of the

[1] According to the Ṭīkā the finger-nails and the whites of the eyes were made of mountain-crystal, the palms of the hands, soles of the feet, and the lips of red coral, the eyebrows and pupils of sapphire, the teeth of diamonds, &c.

[2] Pañcasikho gandhabbaputto (D. II. 265[12] foll.; Jāt. IV. 69[1]) is the poet and minstrel of the gods. He appears in attendance on Sakka in Jāt. III. 222[10], &c.; IV. 63[7], &c., and often. The gandhabbā (Skt. gandharva) are the heavenly musicians.

[3] To represent the death-bed of the Buddha, the parinibbāna-mañca, and intended as a receptacle for the relics.

[4] In the vv. 78–87 scenes from the Buddha's life, from the sambodhi to his death and obsequies, are enumerated. Cf. for this especially M.V. I. 1–23 (Oldenberg, *Vin. Piṭ.* i, p. 1 foll.); the Jātakanidāna (Fausböll, *Jātakas*, i, p. 77 foll.); and for 84[d] foll. the Mahāparinibbāṇasutta (D. II. p. 106 foll.; Rhys Davids, *S.B.E.* xi, p. 44 foll., and *S.B.B.* iii, p. 71 foll.). Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 21 foll. On such scenes as the subject of bas-reliefs in buddhistic monuments see Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, i, p. 414 foll.; Grünwedel, *Buddh Kunst*, pp. 61 foll., 118 foll.

[5] The time immediately after the sambodhi which the Buddha spent near the bodhi-tree.

[6] Brahmā and the other gods entreat the Buddha to preach the discovered truth to the world.

doctrine, the admission of Yasa into the order, the pabbajjā of the Bhaddavaggiyas and the subduing of the jaṭilas; the visit 80 of Bimbisāra and the entry into Rājagaha, the accepting of the Veḷuvana, the eighty disciples,[1] the journey to Kapilavatthu 81 and the (miracle of the) jewelled path in that place,[2] the pabbajjā of Rāhula and Nanda,[3] the accepting of the Jetavana, the 82 miracle at the foot of the mango-tree, the preaching in the heaven of the gods, the miracle of the descent of the gods,[4] and the assembly with the questioning of the thera,[5] the Mahāsa- 83 mayasuttanta,[6] and the exhortation to Rāhula,[7] the Mahāmaṅgalasutta,[8] and the encounter with (the elephant) Dhanapāla;[9] the subduing of the (yakkha) Āḷavaka, of the (robber) Aṅguli- 84

[1] The smaller circle of the disciples after the admission of Sāriputta and Moggallāna.

[2] The miracle of the ratanacaṅkama consisted in this that the Buddha created a path of gems in the air, pacing upon which he preached to the Sakyas. According to *Jāt.* I, p. 88, the Buddha performed in Kapilavatthu the yamakapāṭihāriya (also called in v. 82 ambamūle pāṭihīra). Cf. note to 17. 44.

[3] Mah. ed. read Rāhulananda° instead of Rāhulān°.

[4] On these legends see SPENCE HARDY, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 295 foll., 298 foll., 301. Cf. FOUCHER, *l. l.*, pp. 473 foll., 483 foll., 537 foll.

[5] The allusion is to the assembly before the gates of Saṅkapura, where the Buddha appears, after his return from the heaven of the gods, and Sāriputta's intellectual superiority to the other disciples is demonstrated. SPENCE HARDY, *l. l.*, p. 302.

[6] = Sutta 20 of the Dīghanikāya (D. II. p. 253 foll.) preached in Kapilavatthu.

[7] In Majjhima-Nik. I. p. 414 foll. is an Ambalaṭṭhikā-Rāhulovādasutta preached in Veḷuvana near Rājagaha; and at III. p. 277 foll. a Cūla-Rāhulovādasutta preached at Jetavana. Cf. also Saṃyutta-Nik. III. 135–136; IV. 105–107.

[8] = Sutta-nipāta II. 4 (ed. FAUSBÖLL, p. 45).

[9] A later name of the elephant which Devadatta lets loose upon the Buddha to crush him and whom the Buddha subdues by the power of his gentleness. SPENCE HARDY (*l. l.*, p. 320 foll.) mentions Nālāgiri or Mālāgiri as his original name. The Milindapañha (ed. TRENCKNER), p. 207[25], has Dhanapālaka. In Sanskrit Buddhist sources Vasupāla also occurs. KERN, *Buddhismus*, transl. by Jacobi, i, p. 251; FOUCHER, *l. l.*, p. 542 foll.

māla and the (nāga-king) Apalāla,[1] the meeting with the 85 Pārāyanakas,[2] the giving-up of life,[3] the accepting of the dish of pork,[4] and of the two gold-coloured garments,[5] the drinking 86 of the pure water,[6] and the Parinibbāna itself; the lamentation of gods and men, the revering of the feet by the thera,[7] the burning (of the body[8]), the quenching of the fire,[9] the funeral 87 rites in that very place and the distributing of the relics by Doṇa.[10] Jātakas[11] also which are fitted to awaken faith did the 88 noble (king) place here in abundance. The Vessantarajātaka[12]

[1] SPENCE HARDY, *l. l.*, pp. 261 foll., 249 foll.; BURNOUF, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, p. 377; FOUCHER, *l. l.*, pp. 507 foll., 544 foll.

[2] TURNOUR: 'the Pārāyana brahman tribe (at Rājagaha).'

[3] Three months before his death the Buddha resolves to enter into the nibbāna at the end of that appointed time. An earthquake accompanies his resolve.

[4] The dish set before the Buddha by the smith Cunda—the sūkaramaddava—brought on the illness which finally caused his death.

[5] The garments were presented to the Buddha by the Malla Pukkusa. As Ānanda put them on him his body radiated unearthly brightness, as a sign of approaching death.

[6] The turgid waters of the Kakutthā-river become clear by a miracle when Ānanda takes from it a draught for the Master.

[7] None can succeed in setting light to the funeral pyre on which the body of the Buddha is lying, for the thera Mahākassapa is still on his way from Pāvā to pay the last honours to the dead Master.

[8] After Mahākassapa has passed round the funeral pyre three times, and has then uncovered the master's feet and done homage to them, the pyre breaks into flame of itself.

[9] Streams of water fall from heaven and extinguish the fire.

[10] In order to settle the dispute that threatens to burn fiercely over the remains of the Buddha the brahman Doṇa divides them into eight parts.

[11] On pictorial representations of the Buddha's former existences (jātaka-stories) see FOUCHER, *l. l*, p. 270 foll.

[12] *The Jātaka*, ed. FAUSBÖLL, vi, p. 479 foll. The existence as Vessantara is the Buddha's last earthly existence. He passes from this into the Tusita-heaven. Hence this jātaka has a particular significance. See FOUCHER, *l. l.*, pp. 283–285. On a fresco representing this jātaka in a series of detached single scenes, in the Degaldoruwa monastery in Ceylon, see COOMARASWAMY, *Open Letter to the Kandyan Chiefs*, p. 6 foll. (reprinted from *Ceylon Observer*, Feb. 17, 1905).

he commanded them to depict fully, and in like manner (that which befell beginning at the descent) from the Tusita-heaven even to the Bodhi-throne.[1]

At the four quarters of the heaven stood the (figures of) 89 the four Great kings,[2] and the thirty-three gods and the thirty-two (celestial) maidens and the twenty-eight chiefs of 90 the yakkhas; but above these[3] devas raising their folded hands, vases filled with flowers likewise, dancing devatās and 91 devatās playing instruments of music, devas with mirrors in their hands, and devas also bearing flowers and branches, devas with lotus-blossoms and so forth in their hands and 92 other devas of many kinds, rows of arches made of gems and (rows) of dhammacakkas;[4] rows of sword-bearing devas and 93 also devas bearing pitchers. Above their heads were pitchers five cubits high, filled with fragrant oil, with wicks made of 94 dukūla fibres continually alight. In an arch of crystal there was in each of the four corners a great gem and (moreover) 95 in the four corners four glimmering heaps of gold, precious stones and pearls and of diamonds were placed. On the wall 96 made of fat-coloured stones sparkling zig-zag lines[5] were traced, serving as adornment for the relic-chamber. The king 97 commanded them to make all the figures here in the enchanting relic-chamber of massive wrought gold.[6]

[1] FOUCHER, *l. l.*, pp. 285-289, 290 foll. The tusitā are a class of gods, Skt. tuṣita.

[2] The four guardians of the world (lokapālā): Dhataraṭṭha in the N., Virūḷha in the S., Virūpakkha in the W., and Vessavaṇa in the E.

[3] According to the Ṭīkā's interpretation this tatopari belongs to añjalipaggahā devā. The comma in Mah. ed. should then be moved accordingly.

[4] The 'wheel of the doctrine', a sacred symbol of the Buddhists. Originally perhaps a sun-symbol. See SEWELL, *J R.A S* 1886, p. 392.

[5] Vijjulatā, literally 'lightnings'. The Ṭīkā explains vijjulatā by meghalatā nāma vijjukumāriyo. and quotes from the Porāṇā (cf. GEIGER, *Dīp. and Mah.*, p. 45) the following verse: meghalatā vijjukumārī medapiṇḍikabhittiyā | samantā caturo passe dhātugabbhe parikkhipi.

[6] The Ṭīkā goes into fuller details, to refute those who may perhaps doubt the truth of the description. GEIGER, *l. l.*, p. 35.

98 The great thera Indagutta, who was gifted with the six supernormal faculties, the most wise, directed here all this, 99 being set over the work. All this was completed without hindrance by reason of the wondrous power of the king, the wondrous power of the devatās, and the wondrous power of the holy (theras).

100 If the wise man who is adorned with the good gifts of faith, has done homage to the blessed (Buddha) the supremely venerable, the highest of the world, who is freed from darkness, while he was yet living, and then to his relics, that were dispersed abroad by him who had in view the salvation of mankind; and if he then understands: herein is equal merit; then indeed will he reverence the relics of the Sage even as the blessed (Buddha himself) in his lifetime.

Here ends the thirtieth chapter, called 'The Making of the Relic-Chamber', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE ENSHRINING OF THE RELICS

WHEN the subduer of foes had completed the work on the relic-chamber he brought about an assembly of the brotherhood and spoke thus: 'The work on the relic-chamber has been completed by me; to-morrow I will enshrine the relics; do you, venerable sirs, take thought for the relics.' When the great king had spoken thus he went thence into the city; but the assembly of bhikkhus sought out a bhikkhu who should bring relics hither; and they charged the ascetic named Soṇuttara, gifted with the six supernormal faculties, who dwelt in the Pūjā-pariveṇa, with the task of bringing the relics. 1 2 3 4

Now once, when the Master was wandering about (on the earth) for the salvation of the world, on the shore of the Ganges a brahman named Nanduttara invited the Saṃbuddha and offered him hospitality together with the brotherhood. Near the landing-place Payāga[1] the Master, with the brotherhood, embarked on a ship. As then the thera Bhaddaji of wondrous might, endowed with the six supernormal faculties, saw there a place where the water whirled in eddies, he said to the bhikkhus: 'The golden palace measuring twenty-five yojanas wherein I dwelt, when I was (the king) Mahāpanāda,[2] is sunk here. When the water of the Ganges comes to it here it whirls in eddies.' 5 6 7 8 9

The bhikkhus, who did not believe him, told this to the Master. The Master said: 'Banish the doubts of the bhikkhus.' Then to show his power to command even in the Brahma-world he rose, by his wondrous might, into the 10 11

[1] Skt. Prayāga, the holy place where Gaṅgā and Yamunā unite.

[2] Cf. Mah. 2. 4; Dīp. 3. 7. There is also mention of M.'s palace, Mah. 37. 62 (= Cūlavaṃsa 37. 12, ed. Col., p. 7; TURNOUR, *Mah.*, p. 239).

air and when he, floating at a height even of seven tālas, had taken the Dussa-thūpa[1] in the Brahma-world upon his
12 outstretched hand, and had brought it hither and shown it to the people, he put it again in the place to which it belonged.
13 Thereon he dived, by his wondrous power, into the Ganges, and seizing the palace by its spire[2] with his toe he raised it high up, and when he had shown it to the people he let it
14 fall again there (to its place). When the brahman Nand-uttara saw this wonder he uttered the wish: 'May I (at some time) have the power to procure relics that others
15 hold in their possession.' Therefore did the brotherhood lay this charge upon the ascetic Soṇuttara[3] although he
16 was but sixteen years old. 'Whence shall I bring a relic?' he asked the brotherhood, and thereupon the brotherhood described the relics thus:

17 'Lying on his deathbed the Master of the world, that with his relics he might bring to pass salvation for the world,
18 spoke thus to (Sakka) the king of the gods: O king of the gods, of the eight doṇas[4] of my bodily relics one doṇa, adored
19 (first) by the Koḷiyas in Rāmagāma,[5] shall be borne thence into the kingdom of the nāgas and when it will be adored even there by the nāgas it (at the last) shall come to be
20 enshrined in the Great Thūpa on the island of Laṅkā. The far-seeing and most wise thera Mahākassapa[6] then, mindful of the (coming) division of the relics by king Dhammāsoka,

[1] Dāṭhāvaṃsa 35 (*J.P.T.S.* 1884, p. 113).

[2] For the meaning of thūpikā see Attanagaluvaṃsa, ed. ALWIS, IX. 7 (p. 32[24]): cetiyasīse kirīṭaṃ viya kanakamayaṃ thūpikaṃ ca yojetvā 'having fastened a golden thūpikā on the summit of the cetiya like a diadem'.

[3] Who had in fact been that same Nanduttara in a former existence.

[4] A certain measure of capacity. See 17. 51. For the passage following cf. D. II. pp. 165–168.

[5] The Koḷiyas were a tribe related to the Sakyas The Rohiṇī was the boundary river between them. In the Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī (ed. RHYS DAVIDS and CARPENTER, i, p. 262) the capital of the Koḷiyas is called Vyagghapajja.

[6] The saṃghathera after the Buddha's death and head of the First Council.

had a great and well-guarded treasure of relics placed[1] near 21 Rājagaha (the capital) of king Ajātasattu as he brought 22 thither the seven doṇas of relics; but the doṇa in Rāmagāma he did not take, knowing the Master's intention. When the 23 king Dhammāsoka saw the great treasure of relics he thought to have the eighth doṇa also brought thither. But, bethinking 24 them that it was destined by the Conqueror to be enshrined in the Great Thūpa, the ascetics[2] of that time who had overcome the āsavas prevented Dhammāsoka from (doing) this. The thūpa in Rājagāma, that was built on the shore 25 of the Ganges, was destroyed by the overflowing of the Ganges, but the urn with the relics reached the ocean and 26 stayed there in the twofold divided waters[3] on a throne made of many-coloured gems surrounded by rays of light. When 27 the nāgas saw the urn they went to the nāga palace Mañjerika of the king Kālanāga and told him. And he went 28 thither with ten thousand koṭis of nāgas, and when he had brought the relics to his palace, (adoring them) with offerings meanwhile, and had built over them a thūpa made 29 of all kinds of jewels and a temple above the (thūpa) also, he, filled with zeal, brought offerings continually, together with the (other) nāgas. There a strong guard is set; go thou 30 and bring the relics hither. To-morrow will the lord of the land set about enshrining the relics.'

When he had heard these words of the brotherhood he, 31 answering 'Yes (I shall do so)', withdrew to his cell pondering over the time when he must set forth. 'To-morrow the 32 enshrining of the relics shall take place,' thus proclaimed the king by beat of drums in the city, by which all that

[1] Kārāpento at 21 c seems to be employed pleonastically. The construction of the sentence may be explained, as I have indicated by the punctuation in the edition, thus: Mahākassapathero ... mahādhātunidhānaṃ ... kārayi, Rājagahassa rañño Ajātasattuno sāmante (taṃ nidhānaṃ) kārāpento.

[2] Ṭīkā: tattha khīṇāsavā yatī ti tasmiṃ Dhammāsokakāle khīṇāsavā bhikkhū.

[3] The waters of the sea divide to receive the urn. TURNOUR'S translation: 'Where the stream of the Ganges spreads in two opposite directions,' certainly does not give the right sense.

33 must be done is set forth. He commanded that the whole city and the road leading hither[1] be carefully adorned and
34 that the burghers be clad in festal garments. Sakka, the king of the gods, summoning Vissakamma (for this task), caused the whole island of Laṅkā to be adorned in manifold ways.
35 At the four gates of the city the ruler of men had garments, food and so forth placed for the use of the people.
36 On the fifteenth uposatha-day in the evening, (the king) glad at heart, well versed in the duties of kings, arrayed in all
37 his ornaments, surrounded on every side by all his dancing-women and his warriors in complete armour, by a great body
38 of troops, as well as by variously adorned elephants, horses and chariots, mounted his car of state[2] that was drawn by
39 four pure white Sindhu-horses[3] and stood there, making the (sumptuously) adorned and beautiful elephant Kaṇḍula pace before him, holding a golden casket[4] under the white parasol.
40 A thousand and eight beautiful women from the city, with the adornment of well-filled pitchers, surrounded the car and,
41 even as many women bearing baskets (filled) with various
42 flowers, and as many again bearing lamps on staves. A thousand and eight boys in festal array surrounded him, bearing
43 beautiful many-coloured flags. While the earth seemed as it were rent[5] asunder by all manner of sounds from various instruments of music, by the (thundering) noise of elephants,
44 horses and chariots, the renowned king shone forth, as he went to the Mahāmeghavana, in glory like to the king of the gods when he goes to Nandavana.[6]
45 When the ascetic Soṇuttara, sitting in his cell, heard the noise of the music in the city[7] as the king began to

[1] I.e. to the Mahāvihāra.

[2] Suratha, according to the Ṭīkā, is used here as maṅgalaratha elsewhere.

[3] See note to 23. 71.

[4] To receive the relics.

[5] The loc. absol. bhijjante viya bhūtale does not belong to the whole sentence but especially to the pres. part. yanto.

[6] See note to 15. 185.

[7] Pure is not 'for the first time' (TURNOUR) but = nagaramhi (Ṭīkā).

set out, he went, plunging into the earth to the palace of the nāgas and appeared there in a short time before the nāga-king. When the king of the nāgas had risen up and had greeted him and invited him to be seated on a throne, he paid him the honours due to a guest and questioned him as to the country whence he had come. When this was told he asked the reason of the thera's coming. And he told him the whole matter and gave him the message of the brotherhood: 'The relics that are here in thy hands are appointed by the Buddha to be enshrined in the Great Thūpa; do thou then give them to me.' When the nāga-king heard this, he was sorely troubled and thought: 'This samaṇa might have the power to take them from me by force; therefore must the relics be carried elsewhere,' and he made this known by a sign to his nephew, who was present there. And he, who was named Vāsuladatta, understanding the hint, went to the temple of the cetiya, and when he had swallowed the urn (with the relics) he went to the foot of Mount Sineru[1] and lay there coiled in a circle. Three hundred yojanas long was the ring and one yojana was his measure around.[2] When the (nāga) of wondrous might had created many thousand (heads with puffed-up) hoods he belched forth, as he lay there, smoke and fire. When he (then) had created many thousand snakes like to himself, he made them lie about him in a circle. 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55

Many nāgas and devas came thither then with the thought: 'We will behold the combat of the two nāgas.'[3] 56

[1] Name of the mythical mountain Meru which is the central point of the universe.

[2] That is, the nāga's body was a yojana in circumference. The Ṭīkā gives another sense to the passage. According to it bhogo is equal to bhogavā, i.e. snake, and yojanavaṭṭavā equal to yojanasatavaṭṭavā, sata being understood from what precedes. That is certainly too artificial. TURNOUR translates, 'with a hood forty yojanas broad'; WIJESIṆHA: 'one yojana broad.' But none of this appears in the text.

[3] A double meaning. Read one way nāga 'snake-demon', refers to Vāsuladatta; the other way, referring to the thera, it means, 'hero, great or mighty man.'

57 When the uncle perceived that the relics had been taken thence by his nephew, he said to the thera: 'There are no
58 relics with me.' The thera told him the story of the coming of the relics from the beginning, and said then to the nāga-king: 'Give thou the relics.'

59 And to content him by some other means the serpent-king took the thera with him and went to the temple with the
60 cetiya and described it to him: 'See, O bhikkhu, this cetiya adorned with many gems in many ways and the nobly built
61 temple for the cetiya. Nay, but all the jewels in the whole island of Laṅkā are not of so great worth as the stone-slab [1] at the foot of the steps; what shall be said of the other (treasures)?
62 Truly it beseems thee not, O bhikkhu, to bear away the relics from a place of high honour to a place of lesser honour.'

63 'Verily, there is no understanding of the truth [2] among you nāgas. It were fitting indeed to bear away the relics to
64 a place where there is understanding of the truth. The Tathāgatas are born for deliverance from the saṃsāra, and thereon is the Buddha intent, therefore I will bear away the
65 relics. This very day the king will set about enshrining the relics; swiftly then give me the relics without delay.'

66 The nāga said: 'If thou shalt see the relics, venerable sir, take them and go.' Three times the thera made him repeat
67 this (word), then did the thera standing on that very spot create a (long) slender arm, and stretching the hand straight-
68 way down the throat of the nephew he took the urn with the relics, and crying: 'Stay, nāga!' he plunged into the earth and rose up (out of it) in his cell.

69 The nāga-king thought: 'The bhikkhu is gone hence,

[1] At the lower end of the stairway of buildings in Ceylon lie semicircular stones with gracefully executed ornaments, the so-called 'Moonstones'. SMITHER, *Anurádhapura*, p. 58, with Plate LVII, fig. 3.

[2] Certainly to be taken in the concrete sense of the four holy Truths (ariyasaccāni) which form the foundation of Buddhist doctrine: the Truths concerning sorrow, the cause of sorrow, the cessation of sorrow, and the way leading to the cessation of sorrow. Saṃyutta, v. 420.

deceived by us,' and he sent to his nephew to bring the relics (again). But when the nephew could not find the urn in his 70 belly he came lamenting and told his uncle. Then the nāga- 71 king also lamented: 'We are betrayed,' and all the nāgas who came in crowds lamented likewise. But rejoicing in the victory 72 of the mighty bhikkhu[1] the gods assembled, and adoring the relics with offerings they came together with the (thera).

Lamenting, the nāgas came to the brotherhood and made 73 right woful plaint sorrowful over the carrying away of the relics. From compassion the brotherhood left them a few of 74 the relics; rejoicing at this they went and brought treasures as offerings.

Sakka came to the spot with the gods bringing a throne 75 set with jewels and a casket of gold. In a beautiful pavilion 76 made of jewels that was built by Vissakamma on the spot, where the thera had emerged (from the earth), he set up the throne and when he had received the urn with the relics from 77 the hand of the thera, and had put them in the casket he placed it on the throne.

Brahmā held the parasol, Saṃtusita the yak-tail whisk, 78 Suyāma[2] held the jewelled fan, Sakka the shell with water. The four great kings[3] stood with swords in their grip and the 79 thirty-three gods of wondrous power with baskets in their hands. When they had gone thither offering pāricchattaka- 80 flowers[4] the thirty-two celestial maidens stood there bearing lamps on staves. Moreover, to ward off the evil yakkhas the 81 twenty-eight yakkha-chieftains stood holding guard. Pañca- 82 sikha stood there playing the lute, and Timbaru who had set up a stage, making music to sound forth.[5] Many devas (stood 83 there) singing sweet songs and the nāga-king Mahākāla

[1] Lit. 'Of the nāga among bhikkhus.' See note to v. 56.

[2] Saṃtusita and Suyāma also appear as devaputtā at A. IV. 242[26], 243[1], and S. IV. 280[23]. Cf. also Jāt. I. 48[16], 53[17], 81[10–11]; IV. 266[3].

[3] See note to 30. 89.

[4] Blossoms of a tree growing in the Tāvatiṃsa-heaven. M.V. I. 20. 10; Jāt. I. 202[14], IV. 265[18].

[5] On Pañcasikha see note to 30. 75; Timbaru is called in D. II. 268[2–3] Gandhabba-rāja. With raṅgabhūmi cf. Sinh. raṅgabim (= raṅgamaḍulu) 'place for acting, theatre'.

84 chanting praises in manifold ways. Celestial instruments of music resounded, a celestial chorus pealed forth, the devatās
85 let fall a rain of heavenly perfumes and so forth. But the thera Indagutta created, to ward off Māra, a parasol of copper
86 that he made great as the universe. On the east side of the relics and here and there in the five regions[1] the bhikkhus raised their song in chorus.

87 Thither, glad at heart, went the great king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, and when he had laid the casket with the relics in the golden
88 casket that he had brought upon his head, and had placed it upon a throne, he stood there with folded hands, offering gifts to the relics and adoring them.

89 When the prince saw the celestial parasol, the celestial perfumes, and the rest, and heard the sound of celestial in-
90 struments of music and so forth, albeit he did not see the Brahma-gods he, rejoicing and amazed at the miracle, worshipped the relics, with the offering of a parasol and investing them with the kingship over Laṅkā.

91 'To the Master of the world, to the Teacher who bears the threefold parasol, the heavenly parasol and the earthly and
92 the parasol of deliverance I consecrate three times my kingly rank.' With these words he, with joyful heart, thrice conferred on the relics the kingship of Laṅkā.

93 Thus, together with gods and men, worshipping the relics with offerings, the prince placed them, with the caskets, upon
94 his head, and when he, surrounded by the brotherhood of the bhikkhus, had passed three times, going toward the left, around the thūpa, he ascended it on the east side and
95 descended into the relic-chamber. Ninety-six koṭis of arahants stood with folded hands surrounding the magnificent
96 thūpa. While the king, filled with joy, when he had mounted into the relic-chamber, thought: 'I will lay them on the
97 costly and beautiful couch,' the relic-casket, together with the relics, rose up from his head, and, floating at a height of
98 seven tālas in the air, the casket forthwith opened of itself;

[1] By this is meant east, west, south, and north, and north-east, also cf. 29. 64 and 65. In Skt. the north-east is called aparājitā diś, Manu VI. 81.

the relics rose up out of it and taking the form of the Buddha, gleaming with the greater and lesser signs,[1] they performed, 99 even as the Buddha (himself) at the foot of the gaṇḍamba-tree that miracle of the double appearances, that was brought to pass by the Blessed One during his lifetime.[2] As they 100 beheld this miracle, with believing and joyous heart, twelve koṭis of devas and men attained to arahantship; those 101 who attained the three other fruits (of salvation)[3] were past reckoning.

Quitting the form of the Buddha those (relics) returned to their place in the casket; but the casket sank down again 102 and rested on the head of the king. Then passing round[4] the relic-chamber in procession with the thera Indagutta and 103 the dancing-women, the glorious king coming even to the beautiful couch laid the casket on the jewelled throne. And 104 when he, filled with zeal, had washed again his hands in water fragrant with perfumes, and had rubbed them with the five kinds of perfumes, he opened the casket, and taking out 105 the relics the ruler of the land, who was intent on the welfare of his people, thought thus:[5] 'If these relics shall 106 abide undisturbed by any man soever, and if the relics, serving as a refuge for the people, shall endure continually, then may they rest, in the form of the Master as he lay upon 107 his deathbed, upon this well-ordered and precious couch.'

Thinking thus he laid the relics upon the splendid couch; 108 the relics lay there upon the splendid couch even in such a shape. On the fifteenth uposatha-day in the bright half 109 of the month Āsāḷha, under the constellation Uttarāsāḷha, were the relics enshrined in this way. At the enshrining of 110 the relics the great earth quaked and many wonders came to pass in divers ways.

[1] See note to 5. 92.

[2] Cf. 17. 44, also the note to 30. 81.

[3] I.e. the state of a sotāpanno, of a sakadāgāmī or of an anāgāmī. See notes to 1. 33; 15. 18; 13. 17.

[4] Pariharaṃ (part. pres.). The subst. parihāra=Sinh. pærahæra means a solemn procession.

[5] A saccakiriyā, cf. note to 18. 39.

111 With believing heart did the king worship the relics by (offering) a white parasol, and conferred on them the entire overlordship of Laṅkā for seven days.

112 All the adornments on his body he offered in the relic-chamber, and so likewise (did) the dancing-women, the 113 ministers, the retinue and the devatās. When the king had distributed garments, sugar, clarified butter and so forth among the brotherhood, and had caused the bhikkhus to recite 114 in chorus the whole night, then, when it was again day, he had the drum beaten in the city, being mindful of the welfare of the people: 'All the people shall adore the relics 115 throughout this week.' The great thera Indagutta, of wondrous might, commanded: 'Those men of the island 116 of Laṅkā who would fain adore the relics shall arrive hither at the same moment, and when they have adored the relics here shall return each one to his house.' This came to pass as he had commanded.

117 When the great king of great renown had commanded great offerings of alms to the great brotherhood of the 118 bhikkhus for the week uninterruptedly, he proclaimed: 'All that was to be done in the relic-chamber has been carried out by me; now let the brotherhood take the charge of closing the relic-chamber.'

119 The brotherhood charged the two sāmaṇeras with this task. They closed up the relic-chamber with the fat-coloured stone that they had brought.[1]

120 'The flowers here shall not wither, these perfumes shall not dry up; the lamps shall not be extinguished; nothing 121 whatsoever shall perish; the six fat-coloured stones shall hold together for evermore.' All this did the (theras) who had overcome the āsavas command at that time.

122 The great king, mindful of the welfare (of the people), issued the command: 'So far as they are able (to do so) the 123 people shall enshrine relics.' And above the great relic-treasure did the people, so far as they could, carry out the 124 enshrining of thousands of relics. Enclosing all together

[1] Cf. with this 30. 61. The two novices are Uttara and Sumana, mentioned in 30. 57.

the king completed the thūpa and, moreover, he completed the four-sided building [1] on the cetiya.

Thus are the Buddhas incomprehensible, and incomprehensible is the nature of the Buddhas, and incomprehensible is the reward of those who have faith in the incomprehensible.[2] 125

Thus do the pious themselves perform pure deeds of merit, in order to obtain the most glorious of all blessings; and they, with pure heart, make also others to perform them in order to win a following of eminent people of many kinds.[3] 126

Here ends the thirty-first chapter, called 'The Enshrining of the Relics', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] A dāgaba consists essentially of three elements. The dome, usually hemispherical, and ordinarily raised on a cylindrical base, forms the principal part. In the upper part of this is the relic chamber. The second part is a square block of brickwork now mostly known by the Burmese term 'tee'. This is the caturassacaya of our passage. Finally the 'tee' forms the base for the conical spire (chatta = parasol) that crowns the whole. PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 263. In 32. 5 is evidently muddhavedī 'top or upper-terrace' or 'rail', a designation of the 'tee'. Cf. Appendix D, s.v. vedī.

[2] Cf. 17. 56.

[3] Ṭīkā: khattiyabrāhmaṇādivividhavisesajanaparivārahetubhūtāni puññāni pi pare ca kārentīti attho 'they make also others to perform meritorious works which are the cause of (obtaining) a following of eminent people of various kinds as khattiyas, brāhmaṇas and so forth.'

CHAPTER XXXII

THE ENTRANCE INTO THE TUSITA-HEAVEN

1 Ere yet the making of the chatta and the plaster-work[1] on the cetiya was finished the king fell sick with a sickness 2 that was (fated) to be mortal. He sent for his younger brother Tissa from Dīghavāpi and said to him: 'Complete 3 thou the work of the thūpa that is not yet finished.' Because of his brother's weakness he had a covering made of white cloths by seamsters and therewith was the cetiya 4 covered, and thereon did he command painters to make on it a vedikā duly and rows of filled vases likewise and the row with 5 the five-finger ornament.[2] And he had a chatta made of bamboo-reeds by plaiters of reeds and on the upper vedikā 6 a sun and moon of kharapatta.[3] And when he had had this (thūpa) painted cunningly with lacquer and kaṅkuṭṭhaka[4] he declared to the king: 'That which was yet to do to the thūpa is completed.'

7 Lying on a palanquin the king went thither, and when on

[1] On chatta see note to 31. 124. By sudhākamma is meant covering with stucco the dome of the cetiya which was made of brick.

[2] The vedikā (rail) seems, as it was counterfeited in painting, to have been merely an ornament. 'Buddhist railings' occur in low-relief as ornament on the cornice of the first pāsāda of the Ruwanwæli-dagaba (Smither, *Anurádhapura*, p. 26) as also, which may be taken into account here, on the 'tee' of the Abhayagiri and the Jetavana-dagaba (Smither, pp. 47 and 52). We also frequently meet with 'urns' as ornaments. But it is not clear what ornament is meant by pañcaṅgulikapantikā.

[3] Muddhavedī='tee', see note to 31. 124. The picture of the sun on the four sides of the 'tee' is an emblem constantly found. Kharapatta=Skt. kharapatra is a name of different plants.

[4] On kaṅkuṭṭhaka 'a kind of soil or mould of a golden or silver colour'=Skt. kaṅkuṣṭha, see Mah. ed., p. 355.

his palanquin he had passed round the cetiya, going toward the left, he paid homage to it at the south entrance, and as he 8 then, lying on his right side on his couch spread upon the ground, beheld the splendid Great Thūpa, and lying on his 9 left side the splendid Lohapāsāda, he became glad at heart, surrounded by the brotherhood of bhikkhus.

Since they had come from here and there to have news of the 10 sick (king), there were (present) in that assembly ninety-six koṭis of bhikkhus. The bhikkhus, group by group, recited in 11 chorus. When the king did not see the thera Theraputtābhaya among them he thought: 'The great warrior, who fought 12 victoriously through twenty-eight great battles with me nor ever yielded his ground, the thera Therasutābhaya comes not 13 now to help me, now that the death-struggle is begun, for methinks he (fore)sees my defeat.'

When the thera, who dwelt by the source of the Karinda- 14 river[1] on the Pañjali-mountain, knew his thought he came 15 with a company of five hundred (bhikkhus) who had overcome the āsavas, passing through the air by his miraculous power, and he stood among those who surrounded the king. When the king saw him he was glad at heart and he bade him 16 be seated before him and said: 'Formerly I fought with you, the ten great warriors, by my side; now have I entered alone 17 upon the battle with death, and the foe death I cannot conquer.'

The thera answered: 'O great king, fear not, ruler of men. 18 Without conquering the foe sin the foe death is unconquerable. All that has come into (this transitory) existence 19 must necessarily perish also, perishable is all that exists;[2]

[1] The Kirindu-oya or Māgama-ganga of which the mouth is in the Southern Province, east of Hambantoṭa, and the source in the mountains south of Badulla. Consequently the Pañjali-pabbata must be sought here also.

[2] The thera alludes to the oft-quoted verse that is put into Sakka's mouth after the Buddha's death in the Mahāparinibbāṇasutta (D. II. 157[8]):

aniccā vata saṃkhārā uppādavayadhammino
uppajjitvā nirujjhanti tesaṃ vūpasamo sukho

'Transient are, alas! the saṃkhāras, having the nature of growth and

20 thus did the Master teach. Mortality overcomes even the Buddhas, untouched by shame or fear; therefore think thou: all that exists is perishable, full of sorrow, and unreal.
21 In thy last mortal existence[1] thy love for the true doctrine was indeed great. Albeit the world of gods was within thy
22 sight, yet didst thou, renouncing heavenly bliss, return to this world and didst many works of merit in manifold ways. Moreover, the setting up of sole sovereignty by thee did serve
23 to bring glory to the doctrine. Oh thou who art rich in merit, think on all those works of merit accomplished by thee even to this present day, then will all be well with thee straightway!'

24 When the king heard the thera's words he was glad at heart and said: 'In single combat also thou art my help.'

25 And rejoicing he forthwith commanded that the book of meritorious deeds be brought, and he bade the scribe read it aloud, and he read the book aloud:

26 'Ninety-nine vihāras have been built by the great king, and, with (the spending of) nineteen koṭis,[2] the Maricavaṭṭi-
27 vihāra; the splendid Lohapāsāda was built for thirty koṭis.[3] But those precious things[4] that have been made for the Great
28 Thūpa were worth twenty koṭis; the rest that was made for the Great Thūpa by the wise (king was worth) a thousand
29 koṭis, O great king.' Thus did he read. As he read further:[5] 'In the mountain-region called Koṭṭa, at the time of the famine called the Akkhakhāyika[6] famine, two precious ear-rings were
30 given (by the king), and thus a goodly dish of sour millet-

decay; having been produced they are dissolved again; blissful is their subjection.' The meaning of saṃkhārā is by no means fully rendered by 'existence'. RHYS DAVIDS, *S.B.E.* xi, p. 117; *S.B.B.* iii, pp. 175-176, translates it with 'each being's parts and powers'.

[1] This refers to the story told in 22. 25-41.

[2] Cf. 26. 25.

[3] Cf. 27. 47.

[4] According to the Ṭīkā the adorning of the relic-chamber is meant here.

[5] Translation of the words ti vutte in 32.

[6] Lit. famine during which the nuts called akkha (*Terminalia Bellerica*) were eaten, which at other times are used as dice. In the Aṭṭhakathā, according to the Ṭīkā, the famine is called Pāsāṇachātaka.

gruel was gotten for five great theras who had overcome the āsavas, and offered[1] to them with a believing heart; when, 31 vanquished in the battle of Cūḷaṅgaṇiya, he was fleeing[2] he proclaimed the hour (of the meal) and to the ascetic (Tissa), 32 free from the āsavas, who came thither through the air he, without thought for himself, gave the food from his bowl'— then did the king take up the tale:

'In the week of the consecration-festival[1] of the (Mari- 33 cavaṭṭi) vihāra as at the consecration of the (Loha) pāsāda, in the week when the (Great) Thūpa was begun even as when the relics[3] were enshrined, a general, great and costly giving 34 of alms was arranged by me to the great community of both (sexes) from the four quarters.[4] I held twenty-four great 35 Vesākha-festivals;[5] three times did I bestow the three garments on the brotherhood of the island.

Five times, each time for seven days, have I bestowed (glad 36 at heart) the rank of ruler of this island upon the doctrine.[6] I have had a thousand lamps with oil and white wicks 37 burning perpetually in twelve places, adoring the Blessed (Buddha) with this offering. Constantly in eighteen places 38 have I bestowed on the sick the foods for the sick and remedies, as ordered by the physicians.

In forty-four places have I commanded the perpetual giving 39 of rice-foods prepared with honey;[7] and in as many places

[1] Ṭīkā: kaṅgutaṇḍulaṃ gahetvā ambilayāguṃ pacāpetvā attano santikaṃ āgatānaṃ Malayamahādevattherādīnaṃ pañcannaṃ khīṇāsavamahātherānaṃ adāsi.

[2] Cf. with this 24. 22-31.

[3] Cf. 26. 21; 27. 46; 30. 4; 31. 117.

[4] Ubhato-saṃgha is bhikkhusaṃgha and bhikkhunīsaṃgha. We meet with the epithet cātuddisa 'of the four quarters', frequently in the oldest cave-inscriptions of Ceylon. Cf. E. MÜLLER, *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, p. 73; WICKREMASINGHE, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, i, p. 144 foll.

[5] Tradition makes the Buddha's nibbāna fall on the full-moon day of the month Vesākha (at that time March–April), Sum. I, p. 2; Smp, p. 283; Mah. 3. 2. See FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 6 foll.

[6] Cf. 31. 90-92; 111.

[7] Ṭīkā: saṃkhataṃ madhupāyasaṃ, sakkharamadhusappitelehi saṃyojitaṃ madhupāyāsaṃ.

40 lumps of rice with oil,[1] and in even as many places great jāla-cakes,[2] baked in butter and also therewith the
41 ordinary rice. For the uposatha-festivals I have had oil for the lamps distributed one day in every month in eight
42 vihāras on the island of Laṅkā. And since I heard that a gift (by preaching) of the doctrine is more than a gift of worldly wealth I said: At the foot of the Lohapāsāda, in
43 the (preacher's) chair in the midst of the brotherhood, I will preach the Maṅgalasutta to the brotherhood;[3] but when I was seated there I could not preach it, from reverence for
44 the brotherhood. Since then I have commanded the preaching of the doctrine everywhere, in the vihāras of Laṅkā,
45 giving rewards to the preachers. To each preacher of the doctrine did I order to give a nāḷī[4] of butter, molasses and
46 sugar; moreover, I bestowed on them a handful of liquorice,[5] four inches long, and I gave them, moreover, a pair of garments. But all this giving while that I reigned, rejoices
47 not my heart; only the two gifts that I gave, without care for my life, the while I was in adversity, those gladden my heart.'

48 When the thera Abhaya heard this he described those two gifts, to rejoice the king's heart withal, in manifold ways:

49 'When (the one) of those five theras[6] the thera Malayamahādeva, who received the sour millet-gruel, had given thereof
50 to nine hundred bhikkhus on the Sumanakūṭa-mountain[7] he ate of it himself. But the thera Dhammagutta who
51 could cause the earth to quake shared it with the bhikkhus in the Kalyāṇika-vihāra,[8] (who were) five hundred in num-
52 ber, and then ate of it himself. The thera Dhammadinna,

[1] Ṭīkā: telullopakam eva cāti, telaussadakhīrasappimaṇḍasaṃkhātaṃ ālopadānaṃ ca adāpayiṃ.

[2] What jālapūva is I do not know. Nor does the Ṭīkā give any explanation.

[3] Sutta-nipāta, ed. FAUSBÖLL, p. 45. See note to 30. 83.

[4] See note to 30. 37.

[5] Yaṭṭhimadhukā (= Skt. yaṣṭimadhukā) the same as madhulaṭṭhikā in CHILDERS, *P.D.*, s. v.

[6] A detailed narration of the story alluded to in 32. 30.

[7] See note to 1. 33. [8] See note to 1. 63.

dwelling in Talaṅga, gave to twelve thousand (bhikkhus) in Piyaṅgudīpa[1] and then ate of it. The thera Khuddatissa of 53 wondrous power, who dwelt in Maṅgaṇa, divided it among sixty thousand (bhikkhus) in the Kelāsa (vihāra) and then ate of it himself. The thera Mahāvyaggha gave thereof 54 to seven hundred (bhikkhus) in the Ukkanagara-vihāra and then ate of it himself.[2]

The thera[3] who received the food in his dish divided it 55 among twelve thousand bhikkhus in Piyaṅgudīpa and then ate of it himself.'

With such words as these the thera Abhaya gladdened the 56 king's mood, and the king, rejoicing in his heart, spoke thus to the thera:

'Twenty-four years have I been a patron of the brother- 57 hood, and my body shall also be a patron of the brotherhood. In a place whence the Great Thūpa may be seen, in the 58 mālaka[4] (bounded about) for the ceremonial acts of the brotherhood, do ye burn the body of me the servant of the brotherhood.'

To his younger brother he said: 'All the work of the 59 Great Thūpa which is still unfinished, do thou complete, my dear Tissa, caring duly for it. Evening and morning offer 60 thou flowers at the Great Thūpa and three times (in the day) command a solemn oblation at the Great Thūpa. All the 61 ceremonies introduced by me in honour of the doctrine of the Blessed (Buddha) do thou carry on, my dear, stinting nothing. Never grow weary, my dear, in duty toward the brother- 62 hood.' When he had thus exhorted him, the king fell into silence.

At this moment the brotherhood of bhikkhus began the 63 chanting in chorus, and the devatās led thither six cars with

[1] See note to 24. 25. We cannot establish the identity of Talaṅga. TURNOUR (*Mah.*, p. 25) says: 'Singh. Talaguru-wiháre in Róhaṇa not identified.'

[2] The geographical names in 53 and 54 cannot be identified. Kelāsa according to 29. 43 was a monastery in India.

[3] The allusion in this verse is to the story in 24. 22 31; 32. 31-32.

[4] See note to 15. 29.

64 six gods, and severally the gods implored the king as they stood in their cars: 'Enter into our delightful celestial world, O king.'

65 When the king heard their words he stayed them with a gesture of his hand: 'Wait ye as long as I listen to the
66 dhamma.' Then the bhikkhus thinking: 'He would fain stop the chanting in chorus,' ceased from their recitations;
67 the king asked the reason of the interruption. 'Because the sign (to bid us) "be still" was given,' they answered. But the king said: 'It is not so, venerable sirs,' and he told them what had passed.

68 When they heard this, certain of the people thought: 'Seized by the fear of death, he wanders in his speech.' And
69 to banish their doubts the thera Abhaya spoke thus to the king: 'How would it be possible to make known (the presence
70 of) the cars that have been brought hither?' The wise king commanded that garlands of flowers be flung into the air, these severally wound themselves around the poles of the cars and hung loose from them.

71 When the people saw them floating free in the air, they conquered their doubts; but the king said to the thera:
72 'Which of the celestial worlds is the most beautiful, venerable sir?' And the other answered: 'The city of the Tusitas,[1]
73 O king, is the fairest; so think the pious. Awaiting the time when he shall become a Buddha, the compassionate Bodhisatta Metteyya[2] dwells in the Tusita-city.'

74 When the most wise king heard these words of the thera, he, casting a glance at the Great Thūpa, closed his eyes as he lay.

75 And when he, even at that moment, had passed away, he was seen, reborn and standing in celestial form in the car
76 that had come from Tusita-heaven. And to make manifest the reward of the works of merit performed by him he drove,
77 showing himself in all his glory to the people, standing on the same car, three times around the Great Thūpa,

[1] See note to 30. 88.

[2] Metteyya = Skt. Maitreya is the name of the future Buddha, successor of the historic Buddha Gotama.

going to the left, and then, when he had done homage to the thūpa and the brotherhood he passed into the Tusita-heaven.

Even where the dancing-women who had come thither laid 78 off their head-ornaments there was a hall built called Makuṭamuttasālā. Even where the people, when the body of the 79 king was laid on the funeral pyre, broke into wailing there was the so-called Ravivaṭṭisālā built.

The mālaka outside the precincts (of the monastery), in 80 which they burned the body of the king here bears the name Rājamālaka.

The great king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, he who is worthy of the 81 name of king, will be the first disciple of the sublime Metteyya, the king's father (will be) his father[1] and the 82 mother his mother.[1] The younger brother Saddhātissa will be his second disciple, but Sālirājakumāra, the king's son, 83 will be the son of the sublime Metteyya.

He who, holding the good life to be the greatest (good), 84 does works of merit, passes, covering over much that perchance is evil-doing,[2] into heaven as into his own house; therefore will the wise man continually take delight in works of merit.

Here ends the thirty-second chapter, called 'The Entrance into the Tusita-heaven', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] That is, Metteyya's.

[2] Niyatapāpakaṃ is that which is certainly or without doubt evil; aniyatapāpakaṃ that which is possibly evil. Here there is an allusion to the scruples of conscience which the king himself felt at the close of his warlike career. See 25. 103 foll.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE TEN KINGS

1 UNDER the rule of the king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi the subjects in the kingdom lived happily; Sālirājakumāra was his famous son.

2 Greatly gifted was he and ever took delight in works of merit; he tenderly loved a caṇḍāla woman of exceedingly 3 great beauty. Since he was greatly enamoured of the Asokamālādevī, who already in a former birth had been his consort,[1] because of her loveliness, he cared nothing for 4 kingly rule. Therefore Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's brother, SADDHĀTISSA, anointed king after his death, ruled, a peerless (prince), 5 for eighteen years. He finished the work on the parasol, and the plaster-work and the elephant-wall[2] of the Great 6 Thūpa, he who won his name by his faith.[3] The magnificent Lohapāsāda caught fire from a lamp; he built the Lohapāsāda 7 anew, seven stories high. And now was the pāsāda worth (only) ninety times a hundred thousand. He built the Dak-8 khiṇāgiri-vihāra[4] and the (vihāra) Kallakālena, the Kalambaka-vihāra, and the (vihāra) Pettaṅgavālika, (the vihāras)

[1] The story is told at length in the Ṭīkā. Cf. GEIGER, *Dīp. and Mah.*, p. 37.

[2] Hatthipākāra: according to PARKER (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 284), who bases his conjecture on the dimensions of the tiles, the sustaining-wall of the upper 'pāsāda' on which are figures of elephants in relief. The sustaining-wall of the great terrace on which the Ruwanwæli-dagaba stands is also ornamented with similar figures of elephants in relief, the forepart of the body jutting out from the wall (SMITHER, *Anurádhapura*, p. 40). But this hatthipākāra seems to be of later origin.

[3] A play on the name Saddhātissa from saddhā = faith.

[4] A monastery of this name appears also in the Cūlavaṃsa, 52. 60.

Velaṅgāviṭṭhika,[1] Dubbalavāpitissaka and Dūratissakavāpi,[2] 9 and the Mātuvihāraka. He also built vihāras (from Anurādhapura) to Dīghavāpi, one for every yojana (of the way).

Moreover, he founded the Dīghavāpi-vihāra[3] together 10 with the cetiya; for this cetiya he had a covering of network[4] made set with gems, and in every mesh thereof was 11 hung a splendid flower of gold, large as a waggon-wheel, that he had commanded them to fashion. (In honour) of 12 the eighty-four thousand sections of the dhamma the ruler commanded also eighty-four thousand offerings. When the 13 king had thus accomplished many works of merit he was reborn, after his death, among the Tusita gods.

While the great king Saddhātissa lived yet in Dīghavāpi 14 his eldest son Lañjatissa[5] built the beautiful vihāra called Girikumbhila; and Thūlathana, a younger son of this same 15 (king), built the vihāra called Kandara. When his father 16 (Saddhātissa) went to his brother (Duṭṭhagāmaṇi at Anurādhapura) Thūlathanaka went with him, to bestow land for the use of the brotherhood upon his vihāra.

When Saddhātissa died all the counsellors assembled, and 17 when they had summoned together the whole brotherhood of bhikkhus in the Thūpārāma, they, with the consent of the 18 brotherhood consecrated the prince THŪLATHANA as king, that he might take the kingdom under his protection. When LAÑJATISSA heard this he came hither,[6] overpowered[7] him, 19 and took the government upon himself. Only for one month and ten days had Thūlathana been king.

During three years did Lañjatissa use the brotherhood 20 slightingly and neglect them, with the thought: 'They did not decide according to age.' When, afterwards, he was 21

[1] See 37. 48.

[2] The tank Dūratissa is situated in Rohaṇa not far from Mahāgāma. PARKER, *l. l.*, p. 393 foll.

[3] See note to 1. 78.

[4] The Ṭīkā explains nānāratanakacchannaṃ by sattaratanakhacitajālaṃ.

[5] Lajjitissa or Lañjitissa are variants of this name.

[6] That is, to Anurādhapura.

[7] Gahetvā is, without doubt, an euphemism for '(having) killed'.

reconciled with the brotherhood, the king built, in atonement,
22 spending three hundred thousand (pieces of money), three stone terraces for offerings of flowers[1] to the Great Cetiya, and then did the lord of the land, with (the expense of)
23 a hundred thousand, have the earth heaped up between the Great Thūpa and the Thūpārāma[2] so that it was level. Moreover, he made a splendid stone mantling to the thūpa in the
24 Thūpārāma, and to the east of the Thūpārāma a little thūpa built of stones,[3] and the Lañjakāsana hall for the brotherhood
25 of bhikkhus. Moreover, he had a mantling made of stone for the Khandhakathūpa. When he had spent a hundred
26 thousand for the Cetiya-vihāra[4] he commanded that at the (consecration) festival of the vihāra called Girikumbhila the six garments[5] be distributed to sixty thousand bhikkhus.

27 He built the Ariṭṭha-vihāra[6] and the (vihāra) Kuñjarahīnaka, and to the bhikkhus in the villages he distributed
28 medicines. To the bhikkhunīs he ordered to give rice as much as they wanted. Nine years and one half-month did he reign here.

29 When Lañjakatissa was dead his younger brother named
30 KHALLĀṬANĀGA reigned six years. Round about the Loha-

[1] See note to 30. 51.

[2] The Thūpārāma is situated 400 yards north of the Ruwanwæli-dagaba.

[3] PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 297, identifies the thūpa called Dīghathūpa in the Dīp, with the so-called Khujjatissārāma or Sela-dagaba. But this is not situated to the east (the Mah. has purato just as the Dīp. 20. 11 describes the position of the Dīghathūpa by Thūpārāma-puratthato) but to the south-east of the Thūpārāma, and it is twice as far from this latter as from the Ruwanwæli-dagaba, so that orientation by the last-named, would be much more to the purpose. SMITHER (*Anurádhapura*, p. 55) is probably right in the conjecture that there is a reference in silāthūpaka to a little stone dagaba, a sort of model, similar to one that stands on the platform of the Ruwanwæli-dagaba.

[4] The monastery on the Cetiyapabbata or Missaka-mountain. Cf. note to 20. 16.

[5] That is, to each one a pair of the three articles of clothing (ticīvara), the antaravāsaka 'under-garment, shirt', the uttarāsaṅga 'robe', and the saṃghāṭī 'mantle'.

[6] On the Ariṭṭhapabbata, now Riṭigala. See note to 10. 63.

pāsāda he built thirty-two exceedingly beautiful (other) pāsādās [1] to make the Lohapāsāda yet more splendid. Round 31 the Great Thūpa, the beautiful Hemamālī,[2] he made as a border a court [3] (strewn) with sand and a wall. Moreover, he 32 built the Kurundavāsoka-vihāra, and yet other works of merit did the king carry out.

A commander of troops named Kammaharattaka, over- 33 powered the ruler, king Khallāṭanāga, in the capital itself. But the king's younger brother named VAṬṬAGĀMAṆI killed 34 the villainous commander and took on himself the government. The little son of his brother, king Khallāṭanāga, 35 whose name was Mahācūḷika, he took as his son; and the 36 (child's) mother, Anulādevī, he made his queen. Since he had thus taken the place of a father they called him Pitirāja.[4]

In the fifth month after he was thus anointed king, a young 37 brahman named Tissa, in Rohaṇa, in the city (that was the seat) of his clan,[5] hearkened, fool that he was, to the pro- 38 phesying of a brahman and became a rebel, and his following waxed great. Seven Damiḷas landed (at the same time) 39 with their troops in Mahātittha.[6] Then Tissa the brahman and the seven Damiḷas also sent the king a written message 40 concerning the (handing over of the) parasol.[7] The sagacious king sent a written message to Tissa the brahman: 'The 41 kingdom is now thine, conquer thou the Damiḷas.' He answered: 'So be it,' and fought a battle with the Damiḷas, but they conquered him.

Thereupon the Damiḷas made war upon the king; in 42

[1] Perhaps dwellings of smaller dimensions, for the bhikkhus.

[2] See 15. 167; 17. 51 and 27. 3.

[3] Literally, a 'sandcourt-boundary'. The allusion is to the so-called elephant-path that runs all round the terrace of the Ruwanwæli-dagaba and is bounded on the outside by a wall. On the east, south, and north it is 97 feet wide, on the west, i.e. at the back, 88½ feet, SMITHER, *l. l.*, p. 41.

[4] I.e. 'King father.'

[5] I read kulanagare and understand by this Mahāgāma the town from which the dynasty of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi came.

[6] See note to 7. 58.

[7] As the symbol of kingly rank.

a battle near Kolambālaka[1] the king was vanquished. (Near the gate of the Titthārāma he mounted into his car and fled. But the Titthārāma was built by king Paṇḍukābhaya and it
43 had been constantly inhabited under twenty-one kings.)[2] As a nigaṇṭha[3] named Giri saw him take flight he cried out
44 loudly: 'The great black lion is fleeing.'[4] When the great king heard that he thought thus: 'If my wish be fulfilled I will build a vihāra here.'

45 He took Anulādevī with him, who was with child, thinking: 'She must be protected,' and Mahācūḷa also and (his son) the prince Mahānāga, also thinking: 'They must be
46 protected.' But, to lighten the car the king gave to Somadevī[5] his splendid diadem-jewel and let her, with her own consent, descend from the car.

47 When going forth to battle he had set out, full of fears, taking his little son and his two queens with him. Being
48 vanquished he took flight and, unable to take with him the almsbowl used by the Conqueror,[6] he hid in the Vessagiri-
49 forest.[7] When the thera Mahātissa from Kupikkala (vihāra) saw him there, he gave him food, avoiding thereby the giving
50 of an untouched alms.[8] Thereon the king, glad at heart,

[1] Evidently identical with the Kolambahālaka, mentioned in 25. 80. See the note thereon.

[2] The passage enclosed in brackets occurs in all the groups of MSS. and is also referred to in the Ṭīkā. I have omitted the three lines of verse from the edition, chiefly for reasons of form (see Introduction, p. xxi) as being a later gloss. The battle took place not far from the north gate of the city. See also 25. 80 foll. and the note to 33. 81.

[3] See note to 10. 97. The name Titthārāma alone indicates that the monastery was inhabited by non-Buddhist monks (tittha=sect).

[4] Mahākālasīhala is a play on the word sīha 'lion' and the name sīhala (Mah. 7. 42).

[5] His second wife.

[6] According to Mah. 17. 12 foll. it had come to Ceylon as a relic in the time of king Devānampiyatissa.

[7] South of Anurādhapura. See note to 20 15 on the Vessagiri-vihāra.

[8] The bhikkhu is not allowed to share with a layman before he himself has eaten of the food that he has received as alms. So Mahātissa first ate of the food and then offered some to the king. SUBHŪTI, communication in a letter of Feb. 27, 1903.

recording it upon a ketaka-leaf,[1] allotted lands to his vihāra for the use of the brotherhood. From thence, he went to 51 Silāsobbhakaṇḍaka[2] and sojourned there; then he went to Mātuvelaṅga near Sāmagalla and there met the thera (Kupik- 52 kalamahātissa) whom he had already seen before. The thera entrusted the king with due carefulness to Tanasīva, who was his attendant. Then in the house of this Tanasīva, his subject, 53 the king lived[3] fourteen years, maintained by him.

Of the seven Damiḷas one, fired with passion for the lovely 54 Somadevī, made her his own and forthwith returned again to the further coast.[4] Another took the almsbowl of the 55 (Master) endowed with the ten miraculous powers, that was in Anurādhapura, and returned straightway, well contented, to the other coast.

But the Damiḷa PULAHATTHA reigned three years, making 56 the Damiḷa named Bāhiya commander of his troops. BĀHIYA 57 slew[5] Pulahattha and reigned two years; his commander-in-chief was Panayamāra. PANAYAMĀRAKA slew Bāhiya and was 58 king for seven years; his commander-in-chief was Piḷayamāra. PIḶAYAMĀRAKA slew Panayamāra and was king for seven 59 months; his commander-in-chief was Dāṭhika. And the 60 Damiḷa DĀṬHIKA slew Piḷayamāra and reigned two years in Anurādhapura. Thus the time of these five Damiḷa-kings 61 was fourteen years and seven months.

When one day, in Malaya, Anuḷādevī went to seek 62 her (daily) portion the wife of Tanasīva struck against her basket with her foot. And she was wroth and came weeping 63 to the king. When Tanasīva heard this he hastened forth (from the house) grasping his bow. When the king had 64 heard what the queen said, he, ere yet the other came, took

[1] *Pandanus odoratissimus.* As a rule royal donations were recorded on copper plates or might be on silver and gold plates. GEIGER, *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, pp. 24–25.

[2] Cf. note to 33. 87; judging from the Ṭīkā we should probably read °kaṇḍakamhi rather than °kaṭakamhi.

[3] Tahiṃ = in Malaya, according to 33. 62.

[4] That is, he returned oversea to India.

[5] Gahetvā. Cf. note to 33. 19.

65 the two boys and his consort and hastened out also. Putting the arrow to his bow [1] the glorious (hero) transfixed Sīva [2] as he came on. The king proclaimed (then) his name and gathered 66 followers around him. He obtained as ministers eight famous warriors, and great was the following of the king and his equipment (for war).

67 The famous (king) sought out the thera Mahātissa of Kupikkala and commanded that a festival in honour of the 68 Buddha be held in the Acchagalla-vihāra.[3] At the very time when the minister Kapisīsa, having gone up to the courtyard of the Ākāsa-cetiya to sweep the building, had come down 69 from thence, the king, who was going up with the queen, saw him sitting by the road, and being wroth with him that he had not flung himself down (before him) he slew Kapisīsa. 70 Then in anger against the king the other seven ministers withdrew themselves from him, and going whither it seemed 71 good to them, they were stripped of their possessions by robbers on the way, and they took refuge in the vihāra Hambugallaka where they sought out the learned thera Tissa. 72 The thera, who was versed in the four nikāyas,[4] gave them, as he had received it (as alms), clothing, sugar and oil, and rice, too, in sufficing measure.

73 When he had refreshed them the thera asked them: 'Whither are you going?' They made themselves known 74 to him, and told him this matter. But when they were asked afterwards: 'With whom will it be possible to further the doctrine of the Buddha? With the Damiḷas or with the 75 king?' they answered: 'By the king will this be possible.' And when they had thus convinced them the two theras,

[1] Cf. the Skt. dhanuḥ saṃdhā in the same sense B.R., *Skt. Wtb.*, s. v. dhā with sam.

[2] A play on the words Sīvaṃ and mahāsivo.

[3] See note to 21. 6. If the Ṭīkā is right in placing the Acchagalla-vihāra to the east of Anurādhapura, the ākāsacetiya mentioned in verse 68 cannot be identical with that mentioned in 22. 26 (see the note). The site of the latter is, no doubt, in Rohaṇa.

[4] I.e. in the four oldest collections of the Sutta-piṭaka: Dīgha-, Majjhima-, Saṃyutta- and Aṅguttara-nikāya.

Tissa and Mahātissa, took them forth from thence and brought 76 them to the king and reconciled them one to another. The king and the ministers besought the theras saying: 'If our 77 undertaking has prospered then must ye come to us, when a message is sent to you.' The theras agreed and returned each one to his place.

When the renowned king had come to Anurādhapura and 78 had slain the Damiḷa Dāṭhika he himself assumed the government. And forthwith the king destroyed the ārāma of the 79 nigaṇṭhas and built there a vihāra with twelve cells. When 80 two hundred and seventeen years ten months and ten days had passed since the founding of the Mahāvihāra the king, 81 filled with pious zeal, built the Abhayagiri-vihāra.[1] He sent 82 for the (two) theras, and to the thera Mahātissa, who had first assisted him of the two, he gave the vihāra, to do him honour. Since the king Abhaya built it[2] on the place of the 83 ārāma of (the nigaṇṭha) Giri, the vihāra received the name Abhayagiri.

When he had sent for Somadevī he raised her again to her 84 rank and built, in her honour, the Somārāma,[3] bearing her name. For this fair woman, who had alighted from the car 85 at this spot and had concealed herself in a thicket of flowering Kadambas, saw in that very place a sāmaṇera who was relieving 86

[1] According to 33. 42-44 the monastery of the nigaṇṭhas, the Titthārāma stood outside the north gate of Anurādhapura. Since, on its place the Abhayagiri-vihāra was built, it cannot be identical with the vihāra of the dagaba, which is now called the Abhayagiri-dagaba, but it must be that of the now so-called Jetavana-dagaba. On the other hand, as we will see below (cf. note to 37. 33), the site of the Jetavana-vihāra must be looked for south of the city where now the so-called Abhayagiri-dagaba stands. Tradition appears to have confounded one name with the other. PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 299 foll.

[2] The king's full name was Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya.

[3] The Somārāma or Maṇisomārāma, as the monastery is called 36. 8, 106, 107 (in allusion to the story in 33. 46) after the cuḷāmaṇi entrusted to Somadevī, must be sought near the Abhayagiri-vihāra, perhaps in the place of the building described by SMITHER, *Anurādhapura*, p. 61, which is popularly designated the 'Queen's Pavilion'.

his need, using (decently) his hand for concealment. When the king heard her story he built a vihāra there.

87 To the north of the Mahāthūpa this same king founded upon a lofty spot the cetiya called Silāsobbhakaṇḍaka.[1]

88 One of the seven warriors (of the king), Uttiya, built, to
89 the south of the city, the so-called Dakkhiṇa-vihāra.[2] In the same place the minister named Mūla built the Mūlavokāsa-
90 vihāra, which was, therefore, called after him. The minister named Sāliya built the Sāliyārāma, and the minister named
91 Pabbata built the Pabbatārāma; but the minister Tissa founded the Uttaratissārāma. When the beautiful vihāras were completed they sought out the thera Tissa and gave them to him
92 with these words: 'In gratitude for thy kindness we give thee these vihāras built by us.'

93 The thera established sundry bhikkhus everywhere (in these vihāras), according to their rank, and the ministers bestowed upon the brotherhood the different (things) useful to a samaṇa.
94 The king provided those (bhikkhus) living in his vihāra with the (needful) things for use, so that nothing was lacking: therefore were they many in number.

95 A thera known by the name Mahātissa, who had frequented the families of laymen, was expelled by the brotherhood from our monastery[3] for this fault, the frequenting of lay-families.
96 His disciple, the thera who was known as Bahalamassutissa, went in anger to the Abhayagiri (vihāra) and abode there,
97 forming a (separate) faction. And thenceforward these bhikkhus came no more to the Mahāvihāra: thus did the bhikkhus of the Abhayagiri (vihāra) secede from the Thera-

[1] The statement as to locality, given in our verse, points, as PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 311, rightly insists, to the Laṅkārāma-dagaba, which is situated about a mile north of the Ruwanwæli-dagaba. It received this name in remembrance of the place where Vaṭṭagāmaṇi had found refuge, according to 33. 51.

[2] I.e. 'South Monastery.' PARKER, *l. l.*, p. 312, identifies the remains of the thūpa belonging to this monastery with the building south of the Mahāvihāra, which is called by the people, 'Eḷāra's sepulchre.' See also note to 35. 5.

[3] Ito 'from here' is from the standpoint of the author, 'out of the Mahāvihāra.'

vāda. From the monks of the Abhayagiri-vihāra those of the 98 Dakkhiṇa-vihāra separated (afterwards); in this wise those bhikkhus (who had seceded) from the adherents of the Theravāda were divided into two (groups).[1]

He (the king) built the cells of the vihāra so that a greater 99 number were joined together, for he reflected: 'In this way it will be possible to restore them.'

The text of the three piṭakas and the aṭṭhakathā thereon 100 did the most wise bhikkhus hand down in former times orally, but since they saw that the people were falling away (from 101 religion) the bhikkhus came together, and in order that the true doctrine might endure, they wrote them down in books.

Thus did the king Vaṭṭagāmaṇi-Abhaya reign twelve 102 years, and, at the beginning,[2] five months beside.

Thus does the wise man labour, when he comes to rule, for 103 the bliss of others and for his own bliss, but a man without understanding does not render the possessions which he has won,[3] however great they are, blissful for both, being greedy of (more) possessions.

Here ends the thirty-third chapter, called 'The Ten Kings', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] After 98 a spurious verse is interpolated: 'To bring prosperity to the bhikkhus dwelling on the island, who belonged to the great Abhaya-(giri-community), the lord of the land, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, made over to them the so-called patti.' In 35. 48 patti simply means 'revenue'.

[2] That is, before the Damiḷas dethroned him.

[3] Laddhabhogaṃ, according to the Ṭīkā stands (*metri causâ*) for laddhā (= labhitvā, Skt. labdhvā) bhogaṃ. But, I think, this is not necessary. We have to take laddhabhogaṃ = laddhaṃ bhogaṃ and ubhayahitaṃ as predicative object.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE ELEVEN KINGS

1 AFTER his death MAHĀCŪḶĪ MAHĀTISSA reigned fourteen years with piety and justice.

2 Since he heard that a gift brought about by the work of a man's own hand is full of merit, the king, in the very first 3 year (of his reign), went in disguise and laboured in the rice-harvest, and with the wage that he received for this he gave 4 food as alms to the thera Mahāsumma. When the king had laboured also in Soṇṇagiri[1] three years in a sugar-mill, and 5 had received lumps of sugar as wage for this, he took the lumps of sugar, and being returned to the capital he, the ruler of the earth, appointed great almsgiving to the brotherhood of 6 bhikkhus. He bestowed clothing on thirty thousand bhikkhus and the same on twelve thousand bhikkhunīs.

7 When the protector of the earth had built a well-planned vihāra, he gave the six garments[2] to sixty thousand bhikkhus 8 and to bhikkhunīs likewise, in number thirty thousand. The same king built the Maṇḍavāpi-vihāra, the Abhayagallaka 9 (vihāra), the (vihāras) Vaṅkāvaṭṭakagalla and Dīghabāhu-gallaka and the Jālagāma-vihāra.

10 When the king (inspired) by faith had done works of merit in many ways he passed into heaven, at the end of the fourteen years.

[1] I.e. 'Gold mountain,' according to the Ṭīkā situated near Ambaṭṭhakola. On this see note to 28. 20. The rocky mountain that rises on the east of Ambaṭṭhakola bounding the valley of Nālanda-Dambul on the west is called Rangala. GEIGER, *Ceylon*, p. 155; ED. MÜLLER, *Ancient Inscriptions*, p. 36. The Dambulla-caves are also called Suvaṇṇagiri-guhā in king Nissaṅka Malla's inscription, ED. MÜLLER, *l. l.*, pp. 92, 126.

[2] See note to 33. 26.

Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's son known as CORANĀGA lived as a rebel 11
under the rule of Mahācūḷa. When Mahācūḷa had departed 12
he came and reigned. Those places, where he had found
no refuge during the time of his rebellion, eighteen vihāras, 13
did this fool destroy. Twelve years did Coranāga reign.
And eating poisoned (food) that his consort gave him the 14
evildoer died and was reborn in the Lokantarika-hell.

After his death king Mahācūḷa's son ruled three years as 15
king, being known by name TISSA. But Coranāga's spouse, 16
the infamous Anulā, had done her infamous (consort) to death,
giving him poison, because she was enamoured of one of the
palace-guards. And for love of this same palace-guard Anulā 17
now killed Tissa also by poison and gave the government
into the hands of that other.

When the palace-guard, whose name was SIVA, and who 18
(had been) the first of the gate-watchmen, had made Anulā
his queen he reigned a year and two months in the city; but 19
Anulā, who was enamoured of the Damiḷa Vaṭuka, did him
to death with poison and gave the reign to Vaṭuka. The 20
Damiḷa VAṬUKA, who had been a city-carpenter in the capital,
made Anulā his queen and then reigned a year and two 21
months in the city.

But when Anulā (one day) saw a wood-carrier, who had come
to the house, she fell in love with him, and when she had 22
killed Vaṭuka with poison she gave the government into his
hands. TISSA, the wood-carrier, when he had made Anulā
his queen, ruled one year and one month in the city. In haste 23
he had a bathing-tank made in the Mahāmeghavana. But 24
Anulā, enslaved by passion for a Damiḷa named Niliya, a
brahman who was the palace-priest, and eager to be united
with him, did Tissa the wood-carrier to death giving him 25
poison and gave the government into (Niliya's) hands. And
the brahman NILIYA also made her his queen and reigned, 26
upheld constantly by her, six months here in Anurādhapura.
When the princess Anulā (who desired to take her pleasure 27
even as she listed with thirty-two of the palace-guards) [1] had

[1] The passage enclosed in brackets occurs in all the groups of
MSS., but seems, as it interferes with the division of the ślokas,

put to death Niliya also with poison, the queen ANULĀ herself, reigned four months.

28 But king Mahācūḷika's second son, named KUṬAKAṆṆA-
29 TISSA, who had fled from fear of Anulā and had taken the pabbajjā returned hither when, in time, he had gathered an
30 army together, and when he had slain the wicked Anulā he, the ruler of men, reigned twenty-two years. He built upon the Cetiya-mountain a great building for the uposatha-
31 festival and to the east of this building he raised a thūpa of stone, and in that same place on the Cetiya-mountain he planted a bodhi-tree.

32 In the region between the rivers he founded the Peḷagāmavihāra and in the same place (he made) a great canal called
33 Vaṇṇaka and the great Ambadugga-tank and the Bhayoluppala,[1] and moreover (he made) around the city a wall seven
34 cubits high and a trench. When he had burned the licentious Anulā in the palace (upon the funeral pyre), he, withdrawing a little (distance) from thence, built a new palace.
35 In the city itself he laid out the Padumassara-park. His mother entered the order of the doctrine of the Conqueror
36 when she had just cleansed her teeth. On a plot for building[2] belonging to his family he founded a nunnery for his mother: and this was therefore known by name Dantageha.[3]

37 After his death his son, the prince named BHĀTIKĀBHAYA,
38 reigned twenty-eight years. Since he, the pious ruler of the earth, was the brother of king Mahādāṭhika he was known
39 on the island by the name Bhātikarāja. Here[4] did he carry out the work of repairing the Lohapāsāda and built two

to be a later addition. (See Mah. ed, Introduction, p. xxi.) kattuṃ in kattukāmā is a pregnant expression for saṃvāsaṃ kattuṃ.

[1] We fail to establish the names here because we do not know what is meant by antaragaṅgāya. The expression hardly denotes the delta of a river, but perhaps rather the region between Ambanganga and Mahawæliganga.

[2] Lit. 'place for a house.' I read kulasante. The Ṭīkā, too, renders its kulāyatte by kulasantake.

[3] Lit. 'Tooth-house.'

[4] I.e. in Anurādhapura.

vedikās for the Mahāthūpa, and the (hall) called the Uposatha (-hall) in the (vihāra) named after the thūpa.[1]

And doing away with the tax appointed for himself he 40 planted sumana and ujjuka-flowers[2] over a yojana of land round the city. And when the king had commanded that 41 the Great Cetiya, from the vedikā at the foot to the parasol at the top, be plastered with (a paste of) sweet-smelling unguent 42 four fingers thick and that flowers be carefully embedded therein by their stalks, he made the thūpa even as a globe of flowers. Another time he commanded them to plaster the 43 cetiya with (a paste of) minium eight fingers thick, and thus he changed it into a heap of flowers. Yet another time 44 he commanded that the cetiya be strewn with flowers from the steps[3] to the parasol on the top, and thus he covered it over with a mass of blossoms. Then when he had raised 45 water by means of machines from the Abhaya-tank he, by pouring (masses of) water over the thūpa, carried out a water-offering. From a hundred waggon-loads of pearls, he, 46 bidding that the mass of plaster be carefully kneaded together with oil, made a plaster-covering (for the Great Thūpa). He 47 had a net of coral prepared and cast over the cetiya, and when he had commanded them to fasten in the meshes thereof lotus-flowers of gold large as waggon-wheels, and to hang 48 clusters of pearls on these that reached to the lotus-flower beneath, he worshipped the Great Thūpa with this offering.

When he heard one day in the relic-chamber the sound of 49 the arahants[4] chanting in chorus he made the resolve: 'I will not rise up till I have seen it,' and fasting he lay down at 50 the foot of the stone-pillar on the east side.[5] The theras created a door for him and brought him into the relic-

[1] I.e. in the Thūpārāma.

[2] Ṭīkā: mahāsumanāni ca ujjakasumanāni ca, namely two kinds of jasmine.

[3] The steps form the ascent from the 'elephant-path' (cf. note to 33. 31) to the great terrace, on which the cetiya stands.

[4] Tādī is a synonym of arahā.

[5] The Ṭīkā paraphrases pācīnaddikamūlamhi with pācīnaad-dikassa samīpe, pācīnadisāya silātthambhaussāpitaṭṭhāne.

51 chamber. When the ruler of the earth had beheld all the adornment of the relic-chamber he went forth and made an offering of figures modelled with clay in close likeness to those (within).

52 With honeycombs, with perfumes, with vases (filled with flowers), and with essences, with auri-pigment (prepared) as 53 unguent and minium; with lotus-flowers arrayed in minium that lay ankle-deep in the courtyard of the cetiya, where they 54 had poured it molten; with lotus-flowers that were fastened in the holes of mattings, spread on fragrant earth, wherewith 55 the whole courtyard of the cetiya was filled; with many lighted lamps, prepared with wicks made of strips of stuff in clarified butter, which had likewise been poured (into the 56 courtyard) when the ways for the outflow had been closed up; and in like manner with many lamps with stuff-wicks in 57 madhuka-oil[1] and sesamum-oil besides; with these things, as they were named, the prince commanded severally with each seven times offerings for the Great Thūpa.

58 And moreover, urged by faith, he ordered year by year perpetually a great festival (for the renewing) of the plaster-work; and festivals also of the great Bodhi-tree (in honour) 59 of the watering of the Bodhi-tree, and furthermore twenty-eight great Vesākha-festivals[2] and eighty-four thousand lesser 60 festivals, and also divers mimic dances and concerts, with the playing of all kinds of instruments of music (in honour) of 61 the Great Thūpa. Three times a day he went to do homage to the Buddha and he commanded (them to give) twice (a day) continually (the offering known as) the 'flower-drum'.[3]

62 And he continually gave alms at the preaching[4] and alms at the pavāraṇā-ceremony, and (distributed) also, in abundance, the things needed for the ascetic, such as oil, molasses,

[1] Oil pressed from the seeds of the *Bassia Latifolia*. The MSS. all have madhuka, and this should be the reading. In Skt. also the form madhuka exists beside madhūka.

[2] See note to 32. 35.

[3] Ṭīkā: divasassa dvīsu vāresu niyataṃ pupphapūjaṃ ca akārayi.

[4] Very doubtful. The MSS. support the reading chandadānaṃ. Perhaps chanda is here a synonym of sajjhāya.

garments and so forth among the brotherhood. Moreover, 63 the prince bestowed everywhere land for the cetiyas, to the end that the cetiyas might be kept in repair. And constantly the 64 king bestowed food (as alms allotted) by tickets[1] to a thousand bhikkhus in the vihāra (of the) Cetiya-pabbata. At five spots, 65 namely, the three receiving-places,[2] called Citta, Maṇi, and Mucala, as also in the Paduma-house and the beautiful Chatta-pāsāda, offering hospitality to the bhikkhus who were harnessed 66 to the yoke of the sacred word he provided them always with all that was needful, being filled with reverence for the religion. Moreover, all those works of merit which had been 67 ordered by the kings of old regarding the doctrine, all these did king Bhātika carry out.

After the death of Bhātikarāja his younger brother named 68 Mahādāṭhikamahānāga reigned twelve years, intent on 69 works of merit of many kinds. He had kiñcikkha-stones[3] laid as plaster on (the square of) the Great Thūpa and he turned 70 the sand-pathway round (the thūpa)[4] into a wide court; in all the vihāras he had (raised) chairs put up for the preachers. The king built the great Ambatthala-thūpa;[5] since the 71 building was not firm he lay down in that place, bethinking him of the merit of the Sage (Buddha), risking his own life.[6] 72 When he had thus made the building firm and had completed the cetiya he set up at the four entrances four bejewelled 73 arches that had been well planned by artists and shone with

[1] Salākavaṭṭabhatta, see note to 15. 205.

[2] Upaṭṭhāna is 'attendance, service'. Thus the allusion is to a place where people waited on the monks to offer gifts. The Ṭīkā calls the three places which are said to have been in the interior of the royal palace, Cittupaṭṭhānapāsāda, Maṇiupaṭṭhānapāsāda, and Mucalupaṭṭhānapāsāda.

[3] Cf. Skt. kiñjalka 'stamens of the lotus-blossom'. Childers, *P.D.*, s. v. 'Kiñjakkhapāsāṇo appears to be some sort of marble or other ornamental stone'.

[4] On the vālikāmariyādā see note to 33. 31.

[5] On the Cetiya-pabbata (Mihintale). See Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 320–322. Cf. 13. 20.

[6] He ran a risk of being killed by falling stones during his meditation.

74 gems of every kind. To be fastened to the cetiya he spent a cover (for it) of red stuff and golden balls thereto and festoons of pearls.'

75 When he had made ready around the Cetiya-mountain a (tract of land measuring a) yojana, and had made four gateways 76 and a beautiful road round about (the mountain), and when he had then set up (traders') shops on both sides of the road and had adorned (the road) here and there with flags, arches, 77 and triumphal gates, and had illuminated all with chains of 78 lamps, he commanded mimic dances, songs, and music. That the people might go with clean feet on the road from the Kadamba-river to the Cetiya-mountain he had it laid with 79 carpets—the gods themselves might hold a festival assembly [1] there with dance and music—and he gave great largess at the 80 four gates of the capital. Over the whole island he put up chains of lamps without a break, nay over the waters of the 81 ocean within a distance of a yojana around. At the festival of (consecrating of) the cetiya these beautiful offerings were appointed by him: the splendid feast is called here (in the country) the great Giribhaṇḍa-offering.

82 When the lord of the earth had commanded almsgiving in eight places to the bhikkhus who were come together in the 83 festal assembly, he, with the beating of eight golden drums that were set up even there, allotted lavish gifts to twenty-four 84 thousand (bhikkhus). He distributed the six garments, commanded the remission of the prison-penalties and he ordered the barbers to carry on their trade continually at the four 85 gates. Moreover, all those works of merit that had been decreed by the kings of old and that had also been decreed by his brother, those did he carry out without neglecting any-86 thing. He gave himself and the queen, his two sons,[2] his state-elephant and his state horse to the brotherhood as their own, albeit the brotherhood forbade him.

87 To the brotherhood of the bhikkhus he gave gifts worth six hundred thousand, but to the company of bhikkhuṇīs 88 (such gifts) worth a hundred thousand, and in giving them,

[1] On samajjā see HARDY in *Album Kern*, p. 61 foll.

[2] Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi Abhaya and Tissa.

with knowledge of the custom, various possessions suited (to their needs) he redeemed (again) himself and the rest from the brotherhood. In Kālāyanakaṇṇika the ruler of men built 89 the (vihāra) called Maṇināgapabbata and the vihāra which was called Kalanda, furthermore on the bank of the Kubukanda- 90 river the Samudda-vihāra and in Huvācakaṇṇika[1] the vihāra that bore the name Cūlanāgapabbata. Delighted with 91 the service rendered him in the vihāra that he himself had built, called Pāsāṇadīpaka, by a sāmaṇera who had given him a draught of water, the king bestowed on that vihāra (a tract 92 of land) in measure half a yojana round about, for the use of the brotherhood. And rejoicing likewise at (the behaviour of) 93 a sāmaṇera in the Maṇḍavāpi-vihāra the prince gave land for the use of the brotherhood to this vihāra.

Thus men of good understanding, who have conquered 94 pride and indolence, and have freed themselves from the attachment to lust, when they have attained to great power, without working harm to the people, delighting in deeds of merit, rejoicing in faith, do many and various pious works.

Here ends the thirty-fourth chapter, called 'The Eleven Kings', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] According to the Ṭīkā a district in Rohaṇa.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE TWELVE KINGS

1 AFTER Mahādāṭhika's death ĀMAṆḌAGĀMAṆI ABHAYA, his son, reigned nine years and eight months. On the splendid 2 Great Thūpa he caused to be made a parasol above the parasol,[1] and he built even there a vedī at the base and at the top. 3 And in like manner he made an inner courtyard and an inner verandah[2] to the Lohapāsāda and to the (building) called the 4 Uposatha (house) of the Thūpārāma. Moreover, for both he built a beautiful pavilion adorned with precious stones; and 5 the ruler of men also built the Rajatalena-vihāra.[3] When he had made the Mahāgāmeṇḍi-tank on the south side (of Anurādhapura), he, who was clever in works of merit, bestowed it 6 on the Dakkhiṇa-vihāra.[4] On the whole island the ruler of men commanded not to kill. All kinds of vine-fruits did he 7 plant in divers places, and the king Āmaṇḍiya, filling the almsbowls with the fruit called 'flesh-melons',[5] and bestowing 8 garments as a support (for the bowls) he gave of these, with believing heart, to the whole brotherhood; because he had

[1] I. e. he heightened the cone crowning the thūpa at the top.

[2] For ājira cf. Abhidhānappadīpikā 218 (ajira = Skt. ajira 'courtyard'). Ālinda is the terrace before the house-door, as is evident from D. I. 89[30], [34]. See also the passages M.V. VI. 36. 4, and C.V. VI. 3. 5 and 14. 1. (*Vin. Piṭ.*, ed. OLDENBERG, i. 248[2], ii. 153[3], 169[25].)

[3] Now Ridi-vihāra, see note to 28. 20.

[4] Cf. note to 33. 88. The Mahāgāmeṇḍi-vāpi will probably be the smaller tank which is in the immediate neighbourhood of the ruins of the monastery. Note the play on the words puññadakkhiṇo and dakkhiṇassa vihārassa.

[5] Kumbhaṇḍaka is, according to Abhidh. 1030, a creeping-plant which (according to SUBHŪTI) is now called in Sinh. puhul 'pumpkin gourd'. Evidently maṃsak° is a particular variety. Since our text connects the king's name with it, āmaṇḍa, which elsewhere means the ricinus plant, seems to be a synonym of the above-mentioned.

filled the almsbowls (with them) he received the name Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi.

His younger brother, the prince KAṆIRAJĀNUTISSA, reigned 9 three years in the city, when he had slain his brother. He 10 decided the lawsuit concerning the uposatha-house in the (vihāra) named after the cetiya,[1] but sixty bhikkhus who were involved in the crime of high treason did the king order to be 11 taken captive, with all that was theirs, upon the Cetiyapabbata, and he commanded these evildoers to be flung into the caves called Kaṇira.

After Kaṇirajānu's death Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi's son, the prince 12 CŪLĀBHAYA, reigned a year. The king built the Cūlagallaka- 13 vihāra on the bank of the Goṇaka-river[3] to the south of the capital.

After the death of Cūlābhaya his younger sister SĪVALĪ, 14 the daughter of Āmaṇḍa, reigned four months. But Āmaṇḍa's 15 nephew named IḶANĀGA dethroned Sīvalī and raised the parasol (of sovereignty) in the capital. When, one day, in the 16 first year (of his reign), the king went to the Tissa-tank, many of the Lambakaṇṇas[4] deserted him and went back to the capital. When the king saw them not he was wroth and (in punishment) 17 he ordered that they, even they themselves, should make a road to the Mahāthūpa, commanding to stamp it down firmly, where it ran beside the tank, and he set caṇḍālas 18 to be their overseers. And full of anger because of this the Lambakaṇṇas came together, and when they had taken the 19 king captive and imprisoned him in his palace they themselves administered the government; but the king's consort put festal garments on her little son the prince Candamukhasiva, 20 gave him into the hands of the serving-women and sent him to the state-elephant, charging (the attendants) with a message. 21

[1] Judging from the expression used (cf. 34. 39) the Thūpārāma must be meant. Cetiya = thūpa.

[2] See note to 23. 11.

[3] This is, no doubt, the correct reading. The Goṇa-nadī is the river now called Kaḷu-oya. By banking it up king Dhātusena constructed the Kāla-vāpi (Kaḷuwæwa), Cūlavaṃsa 38. 42.

[4] An important clan in Laṅkā.

The serving-women conveyed him thither and gave the state-
22 elephant the queen's whole message: 'This is thy lord's son; thy lord is in prison; better is it for this (boy) to meet his
23 death by thee than by the enemies; then slay thou him: that is the queen's command.' With these words they laid him
24 down at the elephant's feet. And for grief the elephant began to shed tears, and breaking to pieces the posts (to which he was chained) he pressed forward into the palace and
25 dashed against the gate with fury, and when he had broken down the door[1] in the room where the king sat, he made him
26 mount upon his back and went towards Mahātittha. There the elephant made the king embark on a ship (that brought him) to the western shore of the sea; he himself went toward Malaya.

27 When the king had stayed three years on the other coast he
28 raised an army and went by ship to Rohaṇa. Having landed at the haven Sakkharasobbha the king assembled there in
29 Rohaṇa a mighty force. Then came the king's state-elephant forthwith out of the southern Malaya to Rohaṇa to do him
30 service. As he had heard there the Kapi-jātaka[2] from the great thera, the preacher of jātakas, named Mahāpaduma, who
31 dwelt in the (vihāra) called Tulādhāra, he, being won to faith in the Bodhisatta, restored the Nāgamahāvihāra and gave it
32 the extension of a hundred unbent bows in length,[3] and he enlarged the thūpa even to what it has been (since then); moreover, he made the Tissa-tank[4] and the tank called Dūra.[5]

33 When the king had raised an army he marched to battle; when the Lambakaṇṇas heard this they also prepared them-
34 selves for battle. Near the gate of Kapallakkhaṇḍa on the

[1] While dvāra means the principal gate of a building, kavāṭāni are the doors of the separate rooms in the interior. See *S.B.E.* xx. p. 160, n. 3.

[2] Two jātakas bear this title, in FAUSBÖLL's edition, ii, pp. 268-270 and iii, pp. 355-358.

[3] Dhanu is a measure of length equal to about 8 feet. PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 274.

[4] In the neighbourhood of Mahāgāma, PARKER, *l. l.*, p. 388 foll.

[5] Probably the Dūratissa-vāpi, to which Saddhātissa, according to Mah. 33. 8, built a monastery. Kāresi here means, I presume, 'to restore' not 'to build'.

field of Haṅkārapiṭṭhi was waged the battle between the two (armies) that brought destruction to both.

Since their bodies were exhausted by the sea-journey, the 35 king's men yielded their ground, therefore the king proclaimed his name and pressed forward. Terrified thereat 36 the Lambakaṇṇas threw themselves down upon their belly, and they hewed off their heads and heaped them up high as the nave of the (king's) waggon-wheel, and when this had 37 come to pass three times the king, from pity, said: 'Slay them not, but take them captive living.'

When then the king had come into the capital as victor in 38 battle and had raised the parasol (of sovereignty) he went to a festival at the Tissa-tank.[1] And when he, fully arrayed in 39 his ornaments and armour, had withdrawn from the water-sports and reflected on the good-fortune that he had attained, and thought of the Lambakaṇṇas who had opposed his progress, 40 he was wroth and commanded that they be yoked two and two behind one another to his car, and thus did he enter the city in front of them. Halting on the threshold of the 41 palace the king gave the command: 'Here on this threshold, soldiers, strike off their heads.' 'These are but oxen yoked to 42 thy chariot, O lord of chariots; therefore let their horns and hoofs be struck off,' thus admonished by his mother the 43 king recalled (the order) to behead them and commanded that their nose and toes be cut off. The district where the elephant 44 had stayed the prince allotted to the elephant; and therefore the tract is called Hatthibhoga.[2]

So Iḷanāga, ruler of the earth, reigned full six years as king 45 in Anurādhapura.

After the death of Iḷanāga his son CANDAMUKHA SIVA 46 reigned eight years and seven months as king.

When the lord of the earth had constructed a tank near 47 Maṇikāragāmaka he gave it to the vihāra called Issarasamaṇa. This king's consort who was known by the name 48 Damiḷādevī, allotted her own revenues from that village to the same vihāra.

[1] Cf. with this 26. 6-7.

[2] I.e. 'the elephant's usufruct, the elephant's fief.'

49 Having slain Candamukha Siva in the festival-sports at the Tissa-tank his younger brother, known by the name
50 YASALĀLAKATISSA, reigned as king in delightful Anurādhapura, the fair face of Laṅkā, seven years and eight months.

51 Now a son of Datta the gate-watchman, named Subha, who was himself a gate-watchman, bore a close likeness to
52 the king. And this palace-guard Subha did the king Yasalālaka, in jest, bedeck with the royal ornaments and place upon
53 the throne and binding the guard's turban about his own head, and taking himself his place, staff in hand, at the gate,
54 he made merry over the ministers as they paid homage to (Subha) sitting on the throne. Thus was he wont to do, from time to time.

55 Now one day the guard cried out to the king, who was laughing: 'Why does this guard laugh in my presence?'
56 And SUBHA the guard ordered to slay the king, and he himself reigned here six years under the name Subharāja.

57 In both the great vihāras [1] Subharāja built a noble row of
58 cells called Subharāja after him. Near Uruvelā (he built) the Vallī-vihāra, to the east the (vihāra) Ekadvāra and at the mouth of the Gaṅgā [2] the (vihāra) Nandigāmaka.

59 One sprung of the Lambakaṇṇa (clan), named Vasabha, whose home was in the northern province, served under his
60 uncle, a commander of troops. Since it was declared: [3] 'One named Vasabha shall be king,' the king at that time commanded that all in the island who bore the name of Vasabha
61 should be slain. The commander, thinking: 'We must deliver up our Vasabha to the king,' and having taken counsel with his wife (upon the matter) set out early in the
62 morning to go to the king's residence. And the wife, to guard Vasabha carefully who went with him, put betel into his hand but without powdered chalk.[4]

[1] According to the Ṭīkā Abhayagiri and Mahāvihāra.

[2] Gangante, by Gaṅgā we should probably understand the Mahawæliganga. The Ṭīkā has *Kacchakanadītīre*. Kacchaka is the name of a ford in the Mahawæliganga (see note to 10. 58).

[3] According to the Ṭīkā Yasalālaka was said to have uttered a similar prophecy publicly.

[4] Betel is chewed with powdered chalk (cuṇṇa, Sinh. huṇu).

Now when the commander, at the gate of the palace, saw 63 the betel without chalk, he sent him back for chalk. When 64 Vasabha came for the chalk the commander's wife spoke with him secretly, gave him a thousand (pieces of money) and aided him to take flight. Vasabha went to the Mahāvihāra and by 65 the theras there was provided with milk, food and clothes, and 66 when he had again heard from a leper the certain prophecy that he would be king, rejoicing he resolved: 'I will be a rebel.' And when he had found men suited (to his purpose) 67 he went, seizing in his further course village by village, according to the instruction (in the story) of the cake,[1] to Rohaṇa, and gradually winning the kingdom to himself he 68 advanced, after two years, with the needful army and train, towards the capital. When the mighty VASABHA had con- 69 quered Subharāja in battle he raised the parasol (of sovereignty) in the capital. His uncle had fallen in battle. But his 70 uncle's wife, named Potthā, who had first helped him, did king Vasabha raise to be queen.

Once he questioned a soothsayer concerning the length of 71 his life, and he told him secretly (that he should live) just twelve years. And when he had given him a thousand 72 (pieces of money) to keep the secret the king assembled the brotherhood and greeted them reverently and asked them: 'Is there perchance, venerable sirs, a means to lengthen life?' 73 'There is,' so did the brotherhood teach him, 'a way to do away with the hindrances (to long life); gifts of strainers[2] 74 must be given and gifts of dwellings and gifts for maintenance of the sick, O ruler of men, and in like manner the 75 restoring of ruined buildings must be carried out; one should take the five precepts on himself and keep them carefully,

[1] The story of Candagutta and the kapallapūva is to be found in Mah. Ṭīkā, p. 123[4] foll.; cf. GEIGER, *Dīp. and Mah.*, pp. 39-40; RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, p. 269; JACOBI, *Hemacandra's Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, viii. 290-296; preface, p. 58.

[2] The parissāvana is among the requisites of the bhikkhu: its use is for straining water so that he who is drinking shall not swallow some living creature who may perhaps be in it.

76 and one should also keep the solemn fast on the uposatha-day.' The king said: 'It is well,' and went thence and carried out all these (duties).

77 Every three years that went by the king bestowed the 78 three garments on the whole brotherhood in the island; and to those theras that lived far away he sent them. In thirty-two places he ordered milk-rice with honey to be distributed, 79 but in sixty-four places a lavish gift of mixed alms.

He had a thousand lamps lighted in four places; that is, 80 on the Cetiya-pabbata, about the cetiya in the Thūpārāma, about the Great Thūpa and in the temple of the great Bodhi-tree.

81 In the Cittalakūṭa (vihāra)[1] he built ten beautiful thūpas 82 and over the whole island he restored ruined buildings. From pious trust in a thera in the Valliyera-vihāra he built the vihāra 83 called Mahāvalligotta. And (moreover) he built the Anurārāma (vihāra) near Mahāgāma and bestowed on it a thousand 84 and eight karīsa[2] (of land) of (the village) Heḷigāma. When he had built the Mucela-vihāra[3] in Tissavaḍḍhamānaka[4] he allotted to the vihāra a share in the water of the (canal) Āḷisāra. 85 To the thūpa in Galambatittha he added a mantling of bricks, and he built an uposatha-house too, and to provide oil for 86 the lamps he constructed a pond (yielding water to) a thousand karīsa (of land)[5] and gave it to the (vihāra). In the Kumbhi-87 gallaka-vihāra he built an uposatha-house. In like manner the king built an uposatha-house in the Issarasamaṇaka 88 (vihāra)[6] here and in the Thūpārāma a thūpa-temple. In the Mahāvihāra he built a row of cells facing the west, and 89 he restored the ruined Catussālā (hall). In like manner the same king made four beautiful Buddha-images and a temple for the images in the fair courtyard of the great Bodhi-tree.

90 The king's consort, named Potthā, built in that same

[1] The same as Cittalapabbata, see note to 22. 23.

[2] Ṭīkā: aṭṭhuttaraṃ karīsasahassakaṃ.

[3] According to the Ṭīkā situated puratthimadisābhāge.

[4] Cf. 37. 48.

[5] In TURNOUR's view sahassakarīsa is the name of the pond.

[6] Cf. note to 19. 61.

place a splendid thūpa and a beautiful temple for the thūpa. When the king had completed the thūpa-temple in the 91 Thūpārāma he commanded lavish almsgiving for the festival of its completion. Among those bhikkhus who were busied 92 with (the learning of) the word of the Buddha he distributed the things needed (by bhikkhus), and among the bhikkhus who explained the doctrine butter and sugar-molasses. At 93 the four gates of the city he had food given away to the poor and, to such bhikkhus who were sick, food suited to the sick. The Cayantī[1] and the Rājuppala-tank, the Vaha and the 94 Kolambagāmaka, the Mahānikkhavaṭṭi-tank and the Mahārāmetti, the Kohāla[2] and the Kāli-tank,[3] the Cambuṭi, the 95 Cāthamaṅgaṇa and the Aggivaḍḍhamānaka:[4] these twelve tanks and twelve canals he constructed, to make (the land) 96 fruitful. For safety he built up the city wall even so high (as it now is)[5] and he built fortress-towers at the four gates 97 and a palace besides; in the garden he made a tank and put geese therein.[6]

When the king had constructed many bathing-tanks here 98 and there in the capital he brought water to them by subterranean canals. And in this way carrying out various works 99 of merit king Vasabha did away with the hindrances (to long life), and delighting perpetually in well doing he reigned 100 forty-four years in the capital. He appointed also forty-four Vesākha-festivals.[7]

Subharāja while he yet lived had anxiously, for fear of 101 Vasabha, entrusted his daughter to a brick-worker and had 102

[1] The names are extraordinarily erratic in the MSS. This adds greatly to the difficulty of identifying the separate tanks.

[2] The Ṭīkā has Kehāḷa and places the tank near Titthapaṭṭana.

[3] The Ṭīkā reads Keḷivāsaṃ ca instead of Kālivāpiṃ ca.

[4] See WICKREMASINGHE, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, i, p. 211.

[5] The Ṭīkā gives the height of 18 cubits (aṭṭhārasahatthappamāṇaṃ) = about 25–27 feet.

[6] I do not believe that we need have recourse to the translation 'swan' or 'flamingo'. The goose is a sacred bird to the Buddhists and appears frequently on the monuments of Ceylon.

[7] See 1. 12 and 32. 35 with note.

at the same time given into his care his mantle and the royal insignia. When he was killed by Vasabha the brick-worker
103 took her with him, put her in the place of a daughter, and brought her up in his own house. When he was at work the girl used to bring him his food.

104 When (one day) in a thicket of flowering kadambas, she saw an (ascetic) who was in the seventh day of the state of
105 nirodha,[1] she the wise (maiden) gave him the food. When she had then prepared food afresh she carried the food to her father, and when she was asked the cause of the delay she
106 told her father this matter. And full of joy he bade (her) offer food repeatedly to the thera. When the thera had come out (of his trance) he said to the maiden, looking into
107 the future: 'When royal rank has fallen to thy lot then bethink thee, O maiden, of this place.' And forthwith the thera died.

108 Now did king Vasabha when his son Vaṅkanāsikatissa had
109 come to (full) age seek a fitting wife for him. When those people who understood the (auspicious) signs in women saw
110 the maiden in the brick-worker's village they told the king; the king thereon was about to send for her. And now the
111 brick-worker told him that she was a king's daughter, but that she was the daughter of Subharāja he showed by the mantle and so forth. Rejoiced the king gave her (in marriage) to his son when all had been duly provided.[2]

112 After Vasabha's death his son VAṄKANĀSIKATISSAKA reigned
113 three years in Anurādhapura. On the bank of the Goṇa-river the king Vaṅkanāsikatissaka built the vihāra called
114 Mahāmaṅgala. But his consort Mahāmattā collected money to build a vihāra, bethinking her of the thera's words.

115 After Vaṅkanāsikatissa's death his son GAJABĀHUKAGĀMAṆI

[1] Nirodha or saṃñāvedayitanirodha is a state of trance, cessation of consciousness. KERN, *Manual*, pp. 55, 57. If the state lasts over seven days it ends in death.

[2] Skt. kṛtamaṅgala (f. *ā*) means a person over whom prayers have been pronounced or who is arrayed with the auspicious things for some undertaking. B R., *Skt. Wtb.*, s. v. maṅgala. The pāli katamaṅgala must be taken in the same sense.

reigned twenty-two years. Hearkening to his mother's word 116 the king founded the Mātuvihāra on the place of the thicket of flowering kadambas, in honour of his mother. His wise 117 mother gave to the great vihāra a hundred thousand (pieces of money) for the plot of land and built the vihāra;[1] he 118 himself built a thūpa of stone there and gave (land) for the use of the brotherhood, when he had bought it from various owners.

He erected the great Abhayuttara-thūpa, making it greater, 119 and to the four gates thereof he made vestibules. When the 120 king had made the Gāmaṇitissa-tank he bestowed it on the Abhayagiri-vihāra for maintenance in food. He made a mant- 121 ling to the Maricavaṭṭi-thūpa and gave (land) thereto for the use of the brotherhood, having bought it for a hundred thousand (pieces of money). In the last year he founded the 122 vihāra called Rāmuka and built in the city the Mahejāsana-sālā (hall).

After Gajabāhu's death the king's father-in-law MAHAL- 123 LAKA NĀGA reigned six years. (The vihāras) Sejalaka in 124 the east, Goṭapabbata in the south, Dakapāsāṇa in the west, in Nāgadīpa Sālipabbata, in Bījagāma Tanaveli, in the 125 country of Rohaṇa Tobbalanāgapabbata, in the inland country Girihālika: these seven vihāras did the king Mahallanāga, 126 ruler of the earth, build in the time (of his reign), short though it was.

In this way do the wise, doing many works of merit, gain 127 with worthless riches that which is precious, but fools in their blindness, for the sake of pleasures, do much evil.

Here ends the thirty-fifth chapter, called 'The Twelve Kings', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] The meaning plainly is that the mother and son jointly founded the vihāra. In 116 it is said, in a general way, that the king together with his mother, founded the Mātuvihāra. How the undertaking was shared is explained in 117 and 118. The mother buys the plot of land and constructs the monastery buildings; the son builds the thūpa and presents the necessary lands for the maintenance of the inmates of the monastery.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE THIRTEEN KINGS

1 After the death of Mahallanāga his son Bhātikatissaka
2 reigned twenty-four years in Laṅkā. He built a wall around the Mahāvihāra. When the king had built the Gavaratissa-
3 vihāra he made the Mahāmaṇi-tank and gave it to the vihāra.
4 Moreover, he built the vihāra called Bhātikatissa. He built an uposatha-house in the beautiful Thūpārāma; the king
5 also made the Randhakaṇḍaka-tank. Filled with tenderness towards beings and zealous in reverencing the brotherhood the protector of the earth commanded lavish almsgiving to the community of both sexes.

6 After the death of Bhātikatissa (his younger brother) Kaniṭṭhatissaka[1] reigned eighteen years in the island of
7 Laṅkā. Since he was well pleased with the thera Mahānāga in the Bhūtārāma he built for him in splendid fashion the
8 Ratanapāsāda in the Abhayagiri. Moreover, he built in the Abhayagiri a wall and a great pariveṇa and a great pariveṇa
9 besides in the (vihāra) called Maṇisoma.[2] In that place he built a temple for the cetiya and in like manner for the Ambatthala-thūpa; and (he ordered) the restoration of the
10 temple in Nāgadīpa. Doing away with the boundary of the Mahāvihāra, the king built there the row of cells (called)
11 Kukkuṭagiri with all things provided. In the Mahāvihāra the ruler of men built twelve great four-sided pāsādas,
12 admirable to see and beautiful, and he added a mantling to the thūpa of the Dakkhiṇavihāra, and a refectory besides,
13 doing away with the boundary of the Mahāmeghavana. And moving the wall of the Mahāvihāra to the side, he also made
14 a road leading to the Dakkhiṇavihāra. He built the Bhūtā-

[1] The name means 'the younger brother Tissa'.
[2] Cf. note to 33. 84.

rāmavihāra and the Rāmagoṇaka, and the ārāma of Nandatissa besides.

In the east the king built the Anulatissapabbata (vihāra) 15 in Gaṅgarājī, the Niyelatissārāma and the Pīlapiṭṭhivihāra as well as the Rājamahāvihāra. In like manner he built in 16 three places an uposatha-house, in the three following vihāras, 17 the Kalyāṇikavihāra,[1] the Maṇḍalagirika, also the (vihāra) called Dubbalavāpitissa.

After Kaniṭṭhatissa's death his son, who was known as 18 KHUJJANĀGA, reigned one year. The younger brother of 19 Khujjanāga KUÑCANĀGA, when he had slain the king his brother, reigned two years in Laṅkā. During the great 20 Ekanāḷika[2] famine the king maintained without interruption a great almsgiving[3] appointed for five hundred bhikkhus.

But the brother of Kuñcanāga's consort, the commander of 21 troops, SIRINĀGA, became a rebel against the king, and when 22 he was equipped with troops and horses he moved on to the capital and when he, in battle with the king's army, had put 23 king Kuñcanāga to flight, victorious he reigned over Laṅkā nineteen years in splendid Anurādhapura. When the king had 24 placed a parasol on the stately Great Thūpa, he had it gilded in admirable and splendid fashion. He built the Lohapāsāda, 25 keeping it within five stories (height), and he restored the steps to the four entrances leading to the great Bodhi-tree. When 26 he had completed the parasol and the pāsāda[4] he commanded offerings at the festival (of the consecration); great in compassion, he remitted the tribute of families[5] throughout the island.

[1] Cf. 32. 51 and note to 1. 63.

[2] Nālī is a certain measure = 4 pasata 'handfuls'. RHYS DAVIDS, *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 17. To so small a quantity of food were the people reduced in that famine. Thence the designation.

[3] Mahāpeḷā, lit. 'great basket,' in contrast to ekanāḷikā.

[4] The reading is, I think, chattapāsādam. Still Chattapāsāda may also be understood as the name of a building. Thus TURNOUR, WIJESIṂHA and my edition.

[5] Kulambaṇa is obscure. Perhaps it means a certain tribute in kind (ambaṇa is a measure of capacity, used as a corn-measure), which was levied from single families (kula).

27 After the death of Sirināga his son TISSA reigned twenty-two years, with knowledge of (the) law and (the) tradition.
28 Because he first in this country made a law that set aside (bodily) injury (as penalty) he received the name king Vohārika-
29 tissa. When he had heard the (preaching of the) doctrine by the thera Deva, who dwelt in Kappukagāma, he restored five
30 buildings. Moreover, contented with the thera Mahātissa, who dwelt in Anurārāma,[1] he commanded almsgiving in Mucela-
31 paṭṭana.[2] When the king Tissa[3] had set up a pavilion in the two great vihāras[4] and in the eastern temple of the great
32 Bodhi-tree two bronze images, and had built also the Satta-paṇṇakapāsāda, goodly to dwell in, he appointed every month
33 a thousand (pieces of money)[5] for the Mahāvihāra. In the Abhayagiri-vihāra and in the (vihāra) called Dakkhiṇamūla, in the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra and the (vihāra) called Kulālitissa,
34 in the Mahiyaṅgaṇa-vihāra, in the (vihāra) called Mahāgā-manāga, in the (vihāras) called Mahānāgatissa, and Kalyāṇika
35 he put parasols to their eight thūpas. In the Mūlanāgaseṇā-
36 pati-vihāra and in the Dakkhiṇa(vihāra), in the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra and in the (vihāra) called Puttabhāga, in the (vihāra) called Issarasamaṇa and the (vihāra) named Tissa in Nāga-
37 dīpaka; in these six vihāras he put up a wall, and he also built an uposatha-house in the (vihāra) called Anurārāma.
38 For the occasions when the Ariyavaṃsa[6] was read he decreed over the whole island a regular giving of alms, from reverence
39 for the true doctrine. With the spending of three hundred

[1] According to 35. 83 near Mahāgāma in the province of Rohaṇa.

[2] According to the Ṭīkā mucelapaṭṭana is the name of a 'ship' made of bronze in which offerings were placed. Such 'canoes' but of stone, which evidently served the same purpose, are, in fact, found in the ruins of Anurādhapura. (BURROWS, *Buried Cities of Ceylon*, pp 38, 43-44.)

[3] Following the reading Tissarājā maṇḍapaṃ. If we read Tissarājamaṇḍapaṃ we must translate 'a pavilion (called) Tissarāja (after him)'.

[4] I.e. the Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri-vihāra.

[5] According to the Ṭīkā, articles of clothing.

[6] Lit. 'book of the holy ones,' probably the life-histories of men eminent in the Buddhist Church, which were read aloud publicly for the edification of the people.

thousand (pieces of money) this king, who was a friend to the doctrine, freed from their indebtedness such bhikkhus as were in debt. When he had decreed a great Vesākha-festival,[1] 40 he bestowed the three garments on all the bhikkhus dwelling in the island. Suppressing the Vetulya-doctrine[2] and keeping 41 heretics in check by his minister Kapila, he made the true doctrine to shine forth in glory.

This king's younger brother, known as ABHAYANĀGA, who 42 was the queen's lover, being discovered (in his guilt) took flight for fear of his brother and went with his serving-men 43 to Bhallatittha and as if wroth with him, he had his uncle's hands and feet cut off. And that he might bring about 44 division in the kingdom, he left him behind here and took his most faithful followers with him, showing them the example of the dog,[3] and he himself took ship at the same place and 45 went to the other shore. But the uncle, Subhadeva, went to the king and making as if he were his friend he wrought 46 division in the kingdom. And that he might have knowledge of this, Abhaya sent a messenger thither. When Subhadeva 47 saw him he loosened (the earth) round about an areca-palm, with the shaft of his spear, as he walked round (the tree), and when he had made it thus (to hold) but feebly by the roots, he struck it down with his arm; then did he threaten the 48 (messenger), and drove him forth. The messenger went and told this matter to Abhaya. And when he knew this, Abhaya 49 took many Damiḷas with him and marched from there against the city to do battle with his brother. On news of this the king 50

[1] See note to 32. 35.

[2] Cf. the Vaipulya-sūtras, sometimes also called Vaitulya-sūtras, which form part of the Northern Mahāyānist Canon. KERN, *Manual*, p. 5; idem, *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de K. Ak. van Wetenschapen*, Afd. Letterk., 4e R., D. VIII, p. 312 foll., Amsterdam, 1907 (see L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *J.R.A.S.* 1907, p. 432 foll.; WINDISCH, *Abh. d. k. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. W.*, xxvii, p. 472; OLDENBERG, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiii, 1910, p. 614).

[3] According to the Ṭīkā, when he was about to embark on the ship, he had chided and punished a dog that he had with him. Nevertheless the animal followed him, wagging his tail. Then he said to his followers, 'Even as this dog, you must stand by me with unchangeable fidelity.'

took flight, and, with his consort, mounting a horse he came to
51 Malaya. The younger brother pursued him, and when he had slain the king in Malaya, he returned with the queen and reigned eight years in the capital as king.

52 The king set up a vedī of stone round about the great Bodhi-tree, and a pavilion in the courtyard of the Lohapā-
53 sāda. And obtaining garments of every kind for twice a hundred thousand (pieces of money), he distributed gifts of clothing among the brotherhood of bhikkhus on the island.

54 After Abhaya's death, SIRINĀGA, the son of his brother
55 Tissa, reigned two years in Laṅkā. When he had restored the wall round about the great Bodhi-tree, then did this king also
56 build in the sand-court[1] of the temple of the great Bodhi-tree, to the south of the Mucela-tree,[2] the beautiful Haṃsavaṭṭa and a great pavilion besides.

57 Sirināga's son named VIJAYA-KUMĀRAKA reigned for one year after his father's death.

58 (At that time) three Lambakaṇṇas lived in friendship at Mahiyaṅgaṇa: Saṃghatissa and Saṃghabodhi, the third
59 being Goṭhakābhaya. When they were coming (to Anurādhapura) to do service to the king, a blind man who had the gift of prophecy, being by the edge of the Tissa-tank,
60 cried out at the sound of their footsteps: 'The ground bears here three rulers of the earth!' As Abhaya, who was walking last, heard this he asked (the meaning of the saying). The
61 other uttered yet again (the prophecy). 'Whose race will endure?' then asked again the other, and he answered: 'That of the last.' When he had heard that he went (on)
62 with the two (others). When they were come into the capital the three, being the close and trusted (counsellors) of the king, remained in the royal service about the king.

63 When they together had slain king Vijaya in his royal palace the two (others) consecrated SAṂGHATISSA, the com-
64 mander of the troops, as king. Thus crowned did Saṃgha-

[1] Vālikātala is employed here in the same way as vālikaṅgaṇa in 33. 31.

[2] Parato is paraphrased in the Ṭīkā by dakkhiṇadisābhāge, cf. Mah. 25. 50.

tissa reign four years in stately Anurādhapura. He set up 65 a parasol on the Great Thūpa and gilded it, and moreover the king put four great gems, each worth a hundred thousand (pieces of money), in the middle of the four suns,[1] and put 66 upon the spire of the thūpa a precious ring of crystal. At 67 the festival of (consecrating) the chatta the ruler of men distributed the six garments to the brotherhood (in number) forty thousand. As he (one day) when listening to the khandhakas[2] 68 heard from the thera Mahādeva, dwelling in Dāmahālaka, the sutta that sets forth the merit of (a gift of) rice-gruel,[3] 69 he, joyfully believing, distributed to the brotherhood at the four gates of the city an abundant and well-prepared gift of rice-gruel.

From time to time the king, with the women of the royal 70 household and the ministers, used to go to Pācīnadīpaka[4] to eat jambu-fruits. Vexed by his coming the people dwelling in 71 Pācīnadīpa poisoned the fruit of the jambu-tree from which the king was to eat. When he had eaten the jambu-fruits he 72 died forthwith even there. And Abhaya consecrated as king Saṃghabodhi who was charged with the (command of) the army.

The king, who was known by the name SIRISAṂGHABODHI, 73 reigned two years in Anurādhapura, keeping the five precepts.[5]

In the Mahāvihāra he set up a beautiful salākā-house.[6] 74 When the king heard that the people of the island were come to want by reason of a drought he himself, his heart 75 shaken with pity, lay down on the ground in the courtyard of the Great Thūpa, forming the resolve: 'Unless I be raised 76

[1] Which were placed on the four sides of the 'Tee'.

[2] The sections of the M.V. and C.V. in the Vinaya-piṭaka.

[3] See M.V. VI. 24. Cf. particularly 5 and 6. The scene of the exhortation is Andhakavinda.

[4] I.e. 'East-Island.' The Ṭīkā says: Mahātitthapaṭṭane parato samuddamajjhe sambhūtaṃ Pācīnadīpaṃ agamāsi. According to this Pācīnadīpa is one of the islands between the north point of Ceylon and the Indian continent.

[5] See note to 1. 62.

[6] On salākagga see note to 15. 205.

up by the water that the god shall rain down I will nevermore
77 rise up from hence, even though I die here.' As the ruler of the earth lay there thus the god poured down rain forthwith on
78 the whole island of Laṅkā, reviving the wide earth. And even then he did not yet rise up because he was not swimming in the water. Then his counsellors closed up the pipes by
79 which the water flowed away. And as he now swam in the water the pious king rose up. By his compassion did he in this way avert the fear of a famine in the island.

80 At the news: 'Rebels are risen here and there,' the king had the rebels brought before him, but he released them again
81 secretly; then did he send secretly for bodies of dead men, and causing terror to the people by the burning[1] of these he did away with the fear from rebels.

82 A yakkha known as Ratakkhi,[2] who had come hither, made
83 red the eyes of the people here and there. If the people did but see one another and did but speak of the redness of the eyes they died forthwith, and the yakkha devoured them without fear.

84 When the king heard of their distress he lay down with sorrowful heart alone in the chamber of fasting, keeping the
85 eight uposatha vows,[3] (and said): 'Till I have seen the yakkha I will not rise up.' By the (magic) power of his
86 piety the yakkha came to him. To the king's (question): 'Who art thou?' he answered: 'It is I, (the yakkha).' 'Why
87 dost thou devour my subjects? Swallow them not!' 'Give up to me then only the people of one region,' said the other. And being answered: 'That is impossible,' he came gradually
88 (demanding ever less and less) to one (man) only. The (king) spoke: 'No other can I give up to thee; take thou me and devour me.' With the words: 'That is impossible,' the other

[1] He had the corpses burnt in place of the rebels and thus inspired the belief that he had condemned them to death by fire. Cf. also sūle uttāseti 'to impale'. Jāt. I. 500[11] and frequently.

[2] I.e. 'Red-eye.' Perhaps scarlatina? The Attanagaluvaṃsa which relates this episode in chap. VI (ed. Alwis, p. 16 foll.), speaks of a fever (jararoga) beginning with inflammation of the eyes.

[3] Cf. with this Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 237.

prayed him (at last) to give him an offering in every village. 'It is well,' said the king, and over the whole island he 89 decreed that offerings[1] be brought to the entrance of the villages, and these he gave up to him. Thus by the great 90 man,[2] compassionate to all beings, by the torch of the island was the fear pestilence brought to an end.

The king's treasurer, the minister Goṭhakābhaya, who had 91 become a rebel, marched from the north against the capital. Taking his water-strainer with him the king fled alone by 92 the south gate, since he would not bring harm to others.

A man who came, bearing his food in a basket, along that 93 road entreated the king again and again to eat of his food. When he, rich in compassion, had strained the water and had 94 eaten he spoke these words, to show kindness to the other: 'I am the king Saṃghabodhi; take thou my head and show 95 it to Goṭhābhaya, he will give thee much gold.' This he 96 would not do, and the king to render him service gave up the ghost even as he sat. And the other took the head and 97 showed it to Goṭhābhaya and he, in amazement of spirit, gave him gold and carried out the funeral rites of the king with due care.

Thus GOṬHĀBHAYA, also known as Meghavaṇṇābhaya, ruled 98 thirteen years over Laṅkā.

He built a palace, and when he had built a pavilion at the 99 entrance to the palace and had adorned it, even there did he daily invite a thousand and eight bhikkhus of the brother- 100 hood to be seated, and rejoicing them with rice-gruel and with foods excellent and of many kinds, both hard and soft, together with garments, he bestowed alms lavishly upon them. 101 Twenty-one days did he continue (to give) thus.

In the Mahāvihāra he built a splendid pavilion of stone; 102 he renewed[3] the pillars of the Lohapāsāda. He set up a vedī 103

[1] By bali are understood particularly the offerings brought to the subordinate divinities, devatās, tutelary genii, local sprites, &c.

[2] Mahāsatta is used elsewhere as designation of a Bodhisatta.

[3] Lit. 'He set them up when he had changed them.' In Skt. parivartayati (B.R. s.v. vart with pari) has the same meaning.

of stone for the great Bodhi-tree and an arched gateway at the northern entrance, and likewise at the four corners (of the courtyard) pillars with wheel-symbols.[1]

104 At three entrances he made three statues of stone and at 105 the south gate he set up a throne of stone. To the west of the Mahāvihāra he laid out a tract of land for exercises of meditation,[2] and over the island he restored all ruined 106 buildings. In the Thūpārāma he ordered the thūpa-temple to be restored and also in the Ambatthala-monastery of the thera 107 (Mahinda); [3] and in the ārāma called Maṇisoma, and in the Thūpārāma, in the Maṇisomārāma and in the Maricavaṭṭi (vihāra), and moreover in the vihāra called Dakkhiṇa (he 108 restored) the uposatha-houses. And he founded also a new vihāra called Meghavaṇṇābhaya and at the (time of) festal 109 offerings at the consecration of the vihāra he distributed the six garments to thirty thousand bhikkhus dwelling on the island, whom he had assembled.

In like manner he appointed then a great Vesākha-festival,[4] 110 and yearly did he distribute the six garments to the brother-111 hood. Purifying the doctrine by suppression of heresy he seized bhikkhus dwelling in the Abhayagiri (vihāra), sixty in number, who had turned to the Vetulya-doctrine [5] and were 112 like a thorn in the doctrine of the Buddha, and when he had excommunicated them,[6] he banished them to the further coast. A bhikkhu from the Coḷa people, named Saṃghamitta, 113 who was versed in the teachings concerning the exorcism of spirits, and so forth, had attached himself [7] to a thera banished

[1] See note to 30. 92.

[2] CHILDERS, *P.D.* s.v. padhānam, says: 'padhānabhūmi, a cloister in a monastery for monks to walk in who are striving to attain arhatship.'

[3] The Therambatthalaka is without doubt the Ambatthala-thūpa built in memory of Mahinda on the Cetiya-mountain. See note to 34. 71.

[4] Cf. note to 32. 35. [5] Cf. note to 36. 41.

[6] Katvāna niggahaṃ tesaṃ, lit. 'having suppressed them.' See pāpakānam niggahena in v. 110.

[7] Nissito, the term for one who stands to an older monk in the relation of pupil to teacher (nissaya).

thither, and he came hither embittered against the bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra.

When this lawless (bhikkhu) had thrust himself into an 114 assembly in the Thūpārāma and had refuted there the words of the thera living in the pariveṇa of Saṃghapāla, namely the 115 thera Goṭhābhaya, uncle of the king on the mother's side, who had addressed the king with his (old) name, he became a 116 constant guest in the king's house.[1] The king who was well pleased with him entrusted his eldest son Jeṭṭhatissa and his younger son Mahāsena, to the bhikkhu. And he made the 117 second his favourite, therefore prince Jeṭṭhatissa bore ill-will to the bhikkhu.

After his father's death JEṬṬHATISSA became king. To 118 punish the hostile ministers who would not go in procession with him, at the performing of the king's funeral rites, the 119 king himself proceeded forth, and placing his younger brother at the head and then the body following close behind, and 120 then the ministers whilst he himself was at the end (of the procession), he, when his younger brother and the body were gone forth, had the gate closed immediately behind them, and 121 he commanded that the treasonous ministers be slain and (their bodies) impaled on stakes round about his father's pyre.

Because of this deed he came by the surname 'the Cruel'. 122 But the bhikkhu Saṃghamitta, for fear of the king, went hence 123

[1] The passage is very obscure as the course of events in the Thūpārāma is too briefly described. I believe that we must supply the object rājānaṃ to rañño nāmenālapato, and that we have to understand the passage in the following way. A solemn assembly of the brotherhood was held in the Thūpārāma to settle the dissensions between the various parties. The king himself was present. In this assembly Saṃghamitta exposed his heretical doctrine, speaking against the monks of the Mahāvihāra, and he succeeded in convincing the king. The thera Goṭhābhaya, the king's uncle, after whom the king himself was named, tried to bring the king round to the orthodox party. But although he spoke urgently to him, even addressing him tenderly, not with his royal title Meghavaṇṇābhaya, but with his familiar name Goṭhābhaya (Ṭīkā: tāta Goṭhābhaya Goṭhābhayā ti . . .), he did not succeed, and Saṃghamitta even became the king's kulūpaka. On this see note to 30. 40.

at the time of his coronation, when he had taken counsel with Mahāsena, to the further coast awaiting the time of (Mahāsena's) consecrating.

124 He (Jeṭṭhatissa) built up to seven stories the splendid Lohapāsāda, that had been left unfinished[1] by his father, so
125 that it was now worth a koṭi (pieces) of money. When he had offered there a jewel worth sixty thousand, Jeṭṭhatissa named it the Maṇipāsāda.

126 He offered two precious gems to the Great Thūpa, and he built three gateways to the temple of the great Bodhi-tree.
127 When he had built the vihāra Pācīnatissapabbata the ruler gave it to the brotherhood in the five settlements.

128 The great and beautiful stone image that was placed of old
129 by Devānampiyatissa in the Thūpārāma did king Jeṭṭhatissa take away from the Thūpārāma, and set up in the ārāma
130 Pācīnatissapabbata. He bestowed the Kālamattika-tank on the Cetiyapabbata (vihāra), and when he celebrated the consecrating festival of the vihāra and the pāsāda and (held)
131 a great Vesākha-ceremony he distributed the six garments among the brotherhood, in number thirty thousand. Jeṭṭha-
132 tissa also made the Ālambagāma-tank. Accomplishing thus many works of merit, beginning with the building of the pāsāda, the king reigned ten years.

133 Thus, reflecting that sovereignty, being the source of manifold works of merit, is at the same time the source of many an injustice, a man of pious heart will never enjoy it as if it were sweet food mixed with poison.

Here ends the thirty-sixth chapter, called 'The Thirteen Kings', in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] Vippakata is used (e.g. D.I. 2^{26}) of an interrupted discourse. Here we have the interrupting of building (cf. 36. 102 ed.). The Ṭīkā renders the word correctly niṭṭhānaṃ agataṃ apariniṭṭhāpitaṃ.

CHAPTER XXXVII

KING MAHĀSENA[1]

AFTER king Jeṭṭhatissa's death, his younger brother MAHĀ- 1
SENA ruled twenty-seven years as king. And to consecrate him 2
as king, the thera Saṃghamitta came thither from the further
coast, when he heard the time (of Jeṭṭhatissa's death).[2]
When he had carried out the consecration and the other 3
ceremonies of various kind, the lawless (bhikkhu) who would
fain bring about the destruction of the Mahāvihāra won the 4
king to himself with the words:—'The dwellers in the
Mahāvihāra do not teach the (true) vinaya, we are those who
teach the (true) vinaya, O king', and he established a royal 5
penalty: 'Whosoever gives food to a bhikkhu dwelling in
the Mahāvihāra is liable to a fine of a hundred (pieces of
money).'

The bhikkhus dwelling in the Mahāvihāra, who thereby 6
fell into want, abandoned the Mahāvihāra, and went to
Malaya and Rohaṇa. Thus was our Mahāvihāra desolate for 7
nine years and empty of those bhikkhus who (else) had dwelt
in the Mahāvihāra. And the unwise thera persuaded the 8

[1] After verse 50 in chapter 37 the old Mahāvaṃsa breaks off. But the later author, who continued the work, carried on this chapter and added 198 verses, giving to the whole the subscription Sattarājako ='the Seven Kings'. (However, there are in reality six:—Mahāsena, Kittisiri-Meghavaṇṇa, Jeṭṭhatissa II, Buddhadāsa, Upatissa II, and Mahānāma.) Our section (verses 1–50) has thus no conclusion, neither the usual memorial verse, nor a subscription. The substance of the former ought to have corresponded to that of the closing verses of the Dīp., but was clothed in a more artistic form. The writer who continued the Mah. put the last two verses of the Dīp. at the head of his own work and thus connected the new part of the poem with the old one. On the whole process, cf. GEIGER, *Dīp. and Mah.*, pp. 18–19.

[2] Ṭīkā: kālaṃ ñatvā, Jeṭṭhatissassa matakālaṃ jānitvā.

9 unwise king :—'Ownerless land belongs to the king,'[1] and when he had gained leave from the king to destroy the Mahāvihāra, this (bhikkhu), in the enmity of his heart, set on people to do so.

10 An adherent of the thera Saṃghamitta, the ruthless minister Soṇa, a favourite servant of the king, and (with 11 him) shameless bhikkhus, destroyed the splendid Lohapāsāda seven stories high, and carried away the (material of the) 12 various buildings from hence to the Abhayagiri (vihāra), and by means of the many buildings[2] that were borne away from the Mahāvihāra the Abhayagiri-vihāra became rich in build-13 ings. Holding fast to his evil friend, the thera Saṃghamitta, and to his servant Soṇa, the king wrought many a deed of wrong. 14 The king sent for the great stone image from the Pācīnatissapabbata (vihāra) and set it up in the Abhayagiri (vihāra). 15 He set up a building for the image, a temple for the Bodhi-tree, a beautiful relic-hall and a four-sided hall,[3] and he 16 restored the (pariveṇa) called Kukkuṭa.[4] Then by the ruthless thera Saṃghamitta was the Abhayagiri-vihāra made stately to see.

17 The minister named Meghavaṇṇābhaya, the friend of the king, who was busied with all his affairs, was wroth with him 18 for destroying the Mahāvihāra; he became a rebel, and when he had gone to Malaya and had raised a great force, he pitched a camp by the Dūratissaka-tank.[5]

19 When the king heard that his friend was come thither, he

[1] A play on the words assāmiko and pathavīsāmī 'owner (ruler) of the earth'.

[2] Pāsāda means here, in quite a general sense, the habitations of the bhikkhus in the Mahāvihāra, which were demolished here and the material of which was conveyed to the Abhayagiri-vihāra.

[3] Catu(s)sālā. A certain building of this name in Anurādhapura is mentioned, Mah. 15. 47, 50; and 35. 88. In our passage the word is evidently an *appellativum*.

[4] By this is probably meant the Kukkuṭagiri-pariveṇa erected by Kaniṭṭhatissa. See 36. 10.

[5] See note to 33. 9. Meghavaṇṇābhaya evidently marches from the central mountain-district of Malaya to secure the province of Rohaṇa.

marched forth to do battle with him, and he also pitched a camp.

The other had good drink and meat, that he had brought 20 with him from Malaya and thinking: 'I will not enjoy it without my friend the king,' he took some, and he himself 21 went forth alone by night, and coming to the king he told him this thing. When the king had eaten with him, in perfect 22 trust, that which he had brought, he asked him: 'Why hast thou become a rebel?' 'Because the Mahāvihāra has been 23 destroyed by thee' he answered. 'I will make the vihāra to be dwelt in yet again; forgive me my fault,' thus spoke 24 the king, and the other was reconciled with the king. Following his counsel the king returned to the capital. But 25 Meghavaṇṇābhaya, who persuaded the king (that it was fitting to do this), did not go with the king that he might collect in the meantime the wherewithal to build.

One of the king's wives, who was exceedingly dear to him, 26 the daughter of a scribe, grieved over the destruction of the Mahāvihāra, and when she, in bitterness of heart, had won over 27 a labourer to kill the thera who had destroyed it, she caused the violent thera Saṃghamitta to be done to death as he came to 28 the Thūpārāma to destroy it. And they slew likewise the violent and lawless minister Soṇa. But when Meghavaṇṇā- 29 bhaya had brought the building-materials (that he had collected), he built several pariveṇas in the Mahāvihāra. When 30 this fear had (thus) been calmed by Abhaya the bhikkhus coming from here and there again inhabited the Mahāvihāra. But the king made two bronze images and set them up on 31 the west side of the temple of the great Bodhi-tree.

Being well-pleased with the hypocrite, the plotter, the 32 lawless thera Tissa, his evil friend, who dwelt in the Dakkhiṇārāma, he, although he was warned, built within the 33 boundaries of the Mahāvihāra, in the garden called Joti, the Jetavana-vihāra.[1] Then he called upon the brotherhood 34

[1] According to 15. 202, Jotivana is a name for the Nandana park which, according to 15. 1, 7–8, was situated immediately before the south gate of Anurādhapura. From this and from our passage it appears quite certain that the Jetavana-vihāra must be the monastery

of monks to do away with their boundaries, and since the bhikkhus would not do this, they abandoned the vihāra.
35 But now, to make the shifting of the boundary void of effect, if others should seek to do this, certain bhikkhus hid themselves in various places.[1]
36 Thus was the Mahāvihāra abandoned for nine months by the bhikkhus, and the other bhikkhus thought: 'We will
37 begin to shift (the boundaries).' Then, when this attempt to shift the boundary was given up,[2] the bhikkhus
38 came back hither and dwelt again in the Mahāvihāra. But within the brotherhood of bhikkhus a complaint touching an offence of the gravest kind[3] was raised against the thera
39 Tissa, who had received the (Jetavana) vihāra. The high minister, known to be just, who decided (the matter) excluded him, according to right and law, from the order, albeit against the king's wishes.
40 The king built also the Maṇihīra-vihāra[4] and founded three
41 vihāras, destroying temples of the (brahmanical) gods:—the Gokaṇṇa (vihāra), (and another vihāra) in Erakāvilla, (and a third) in the village of the Brahman Kalanda;[5] (moreover

the thūpa of which was mistakenly (called) the Abhayagiri Dagaba. On the other hand the present Jetavana Dagaba to the north of the city belonged to the Abhayagiri. Cf. note 33. 81.

[1] Namely, within the old boundaries of the Mahāvihāra, possession of which was thus formally maintained Ṭīkā: antosimāya eva aññattha agantvā tasmiṃ tasmiṃ ṭhāne paticchannā hutvā nilīyiṃsu.

[2] Evidently since the bhikkhus remaining behind raised a protest.

[3] Antimavatthu is a matter that involves expulsion from the order. Cf. M.V. II. 22. 3; 36. 1; *S.B.E.* xiii, p. 276, note 1.

[4] Now Minneriya, the name of a tank (see below, v. 47) not far from Polonnaruwa.

[5] According to the Ṭīkā the Gokaṇṇa-vihāra is situated on the coast of the 'Eastern Sea', the two other vihāras in Rohaṇa. The Ṭīkā then adds: evaṃ sabbattha Laṅkadīpamhi kudiṭṭhikānaṃ ālayaṃ viddhaṃsetvā, Sivaliṅgādayo nāsetvā buddhasāsanaṃ eva patiṭṭhapesi 'everywhere in the island of Laṅkā he established the doctrine of the Buddha, having destroyed the temples of the unbelievers, i.e. having abolished the phallic symbols of Siva and so forth'.

he built) the Migagāma-vihāra and the Gaṅgāsenakapabbata (vihāra). To the west, he built the Dhātusenapabbata 42 (vihāra); the king founded also the great vihāra in Kokavāta. He built the Thūpārāma-vihāra and the Hulapiṭṭhi (vihāra) 43 and the two nunneries, called Uttara and Abhaya. At the place 44 of the yakkha Kālavela[1] he built a thūpa, and on the island he restored many ruined buildings. To one thousand saṃ- 45 ghattheras[2] he distributed alms for theras, at a cost of a thousand (pieces of money), and to all (the bhikkhus he distributed) yearly a garment. There is no record of his gifts 46 of food and drink.

To make (the land) more fertile, he made sixteen tanks, the 47 Maṇihīra,[3] the Mahāgāma, the Challūra, and the (tank) named Khānu,[4] the Mahāmaṇi,[5] the Kokavāta[6] and the Dhamma- 48 ramma-tank, the Kumbālaka and the Vāhana, besides the Rattamālakaṇḍaka,[7] the tank Tissavaḍḍhamānaka,[8] that of Velaṅgaviṭṭhi,[9] that of Mahāgallaka, the Cīra-tank and the 49 Mahādāragallaka and the Kālapāsāṇa-tank. These are the sixteen tanks. On the Gaṅgā he built the great canal named 50 Pabbatanta.

Thus did he gather to himself much merit and much guilt.

The Mahāvaṃsa is ended.

[1] Cf. 10. 84.

[2] I. e. superiors of the communities of bhikkhus. Cf. 3. 4; 4. 56.

[3] See above note to 37. 40.

[4] A Khānugāma is mentioned 25. 14.

[5] In 36. 3 the construction of a Mahāmaṇi-tank is ascribed to Bhātikatissa.

[6] Cf. the Kokavāta-vihāra in 37. 42.

[7] Maharatmala is the older name of the great Padaviya-lake in the North Central Province, 25 miles north of Anurādhapura. Arch. Survey of Ceylon, XIII, 1896, p. 40. There is, however, also a Ratmala-tank 2½ miles south of Anurādhapura. Ed. Müller, *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, p. 27.

[8] A village or district of this name is mentioned in 35. 84.

[9] A vihāra of the same name, see 33. 8.

APPENDIX A

THE DYNASTY OF MAHĀSAṂMATA

On Mah. 2 = Dīp. 3 = Sum. T. p. 258 = Rājāv. p. 4 foll. (Engl. transl. by B. Guṇasekara) I should like to give a reference to two parallel passages in northern Buddhist literature, the *Mahāvastu*[1] which belongs to the Vinaya of the Mahāsaṃghikas and, moreover, of the Lokottaravāda-school, and to the *Dulva*,[2] the Tibetan translation of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins.

The names handed down in both these sources may be compared with those of the D. and M. in the following list:—

Dīp. Mah.	Mahāvastu	Dulva
Mahāsammata	Mahāsammata	Mahāsammata
Roja	—	Rōkha
Vararoja	—	—
Kalyāṇa	Kalyāṇa	Kalyāṇa
Varakalyāṇa	Rava ?	Varakalyāṇa
Uposatha	Upoṣadha	Utpoṣadha
Mandhātar	Māndhāta	Māndhātā
Caraka	—	Kāru
Upacara	—	Upakāru
&c.	&c.	Kārumat, &c.
Okkāka (Dīp.: surnamed Sujāta)	Ikṣvāku (surnamed Sujāta)	Ikṣvāku (Gotama)
Okkāmukha, Nipuṇa and three other sons	Ulkāmukha,[3] Nipura and three other sons	Ulkāmukha, Nūpura and two other sons

[1] Ed. Senart, i, p. 348.

[2] See Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha* (1907), p. 11 foll.

[3] In the Mahāvastu tradition not Ulkāmukha but Opura is said to be the eldest son; but in the Dulva again the former is so.

In the Mahāvastu I. 348[8]–352[8] and in the Dulva (ROCKHILL, p. 11 foll.) there follows a story about the rise of the Śākya and the founding of Kapilavastu. Ikṣvāku banishes his legitimate sons from the country as he wishes to hand on the throne to Jenta the son of a concubine. He is thus fulfilling a promise into which the mother of Jenta has beguiled him. Ikṣvāku's sons withdraw into the wilderness and there take to wife their sisters who have accompanied them. Afterwards Kapilavastu is built by them. Their descendants are the Śākyas.

This story was also known to the Theravādins. It occurs in Sum. T. p. 258 foll. and in the Ṭīkā to the Mahāvaṃsa, p. 84.[1] In agreement with the Dulva the M. Ṭ. mentions only four sons of Okkāka who were banished from the country; the fifth is Jantu to whom the brothers have to give way.

Further on (I. p. 352[15] foll.) the Mahāvastu relates the story of a Śākya king's daughter who is a leper and therefore banished to the forest. Here she is cured and is found by a hermit named Kola. Kola had formerly been king of Benares and had withdrawn into the forest because he too suffered from leprosy. He married the Śākya princess and from these two sprang the Koliya clan.

This legend too was known in Ceylon, we come across it in Sum. T. p. 260 foll. and in the (Sinhalese) Rājāvali immediately following on the story of the sons of Ikṣvāku.[2]

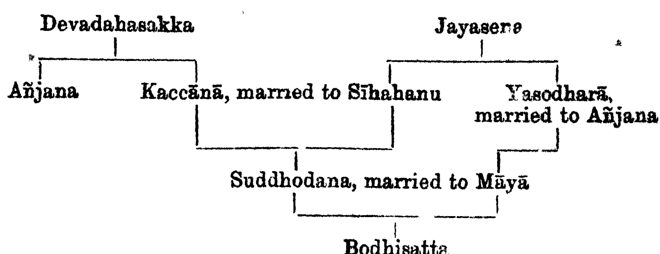
The Mahāvastu and Dulva speak of Siṃhahanu (= Sīhahanu in Dīp. Mah.) as the Buddha's grandfather. He has four sons: (1) Suddhodana the Buddha's father, (2) Dhautodana, (3) Śuklodana and (4) Amṛtodana. These are the Suddhodana, Dhotodana, Sukkodana and Amitodana of the Dīp. and Mah., which add yet another, Sakkodana.

According to the Dīp. Mah. the Buddha's genealogical tree[3] is this:—

[1] *Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā*, ed. BAṬUWANTUḌĀWE and ÑĀNISSARA BHIKSHU, Colombo, 1895. GEIGER, *Dīp. and Mah.*, p. 38.

[2] The *Rājāvaliya*, ed. (in English) by B. GUṆASEKARA, Colombo, 1900, pp. 11–13. GEIGER, *l. l.*, p. 95.

[3] See also RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhism* (1910), p. 52.



The Mahāvastu I. 355[15] foll. names as Māyā's father Subhūti who was married to a Koliya princess and lived in Devadaha. Plainly this is the Añjana of the Mah., and the Suprabuddha of the Dulva (p. 14), while the Mah. (2. 18–19) takes Suppabuddha to be the son of Añjana and brother of Māyā. Perhaps Suprabuddha was a surname borne by the father and son.[1]

[1] For the whole subject cf. also SPENCE HARDY, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 125 foll.

APPENDIX B

THE BUDDHIST SECTS

(On Mah. 5. 1–13)

RHYS DAVIDS. 'The Sects of the Buddhists,' *J.R.A.S.*, 1891, p. 409 foll.; the same, 'Schools of Buddhist Belief,' *J.R.A.S.* 1892, p. 1 foll.; MINAYEFF, *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*, p. 187 foll.

SOUTHERN BUDDHIST LISTS (SB.) occur besides *Mah.* 5 in the *Dīp.* 5. 39 foll.; also in the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (ed. STRONG, *P.T.S.* 1891), pp. 96–97, in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* (ed. M. BODE, *P.T.S.* 1897), p. 14, 24–25; in the Sinhalese *Nikāya-Saṃgraha* (ed. WICKREMASINGHE), pp. 6–9. Special mention should be made of the Commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*, the *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa-Aṭṭhakathā* (ed. MINAYEFF, *J.P.T.S.* 1889, pp. 2–3, 5 and *passim*). The Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa is ascribed to Tissa Moggaliputta,[1] who is said to have composed it after the holding of the Third Council in order to refute the views held by sectaries. The names of the sects are not mentioned in the Kathāvatthu but are in the commentary thereon, mentioned above, which was composed by Buddhaghosa.[2]

All the Southern Buddhist lists are in complete agreement with one another.

[1] I adhere to this assertion (Mah. 5. 278) as a statement of fact. That the objection raised by MINAYEFF (*Recherches*, p. 200) to the age of the work is based upon an error has been already demonstrated by OLDENBERG, *Z.D.M.G.*, 52, p. 633, and RHYS DAVIDS, *Dialogues*, i, p. xviii.

[2] Quoted by me as Kvu. Co.

I will mention, when occasion arises, certain trifling variations in the *Nik. Saṃgr.* The ground for the agreement is that all the southern sources are based, in the last resort, upon the old-sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā.

Northern Buddhist Lists (NB) occur in the Dulva, the Tibetan Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins according to a work of Bhavya, see Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha* (1907), p. 182 foll. (R.), and according to a work of Vasumitra, see Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus* (1860), i, p. 224 foll. (W.), also Beal, 'The Eighteen Schools of Buddhism' (*Ind. Ant.*, ix, p. 299 foll.) (VB.).[1]

Besides we have lists in Tāranātha. See Schiefner, *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India* (1869), pp. 270–274 (Tār.).

St. Julien gives five Chinese lists based, for the most part, upon Vasumitra: 'Listes diverses des noms de dix-huit écoles schismatiques qui sont sorties du Bouddhisme,' *Journ. As.*, v. série, t. xiv (1859), p. 327 foll. (St. J.). To these may be added the statements of the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hian, Hiuen-thsang[2] and I-tsing.[3]

The number of the sects is unanimously given as 18. Evidently we again have to do with one of those established numbers which form the backbone of tradition.

The individual names vary and the dividing-up of the sects also shows certain variations This is shown by the following survey:—

1. SB. Theravāda = NB. Sthaviravāda is one of the two original schools into which the united church was divided at the first schism. It was so according to Mah. Dīp., &c., also according to St. J., p. 343 (list V), 100 years after the Nirvāṇa. On the other hand the number is 116 in St. J. 333 (list II); and 160 in R. 182, St. J. 336 (list V).

[1] Beal gives two lists following Vasumitra, as Rockhill gives two following Bhavya.

[2] I call them Ch. 1, 2, and quote Fa-hian and Hiuen-thsang according to Beal (B.), *Buddhist Records of the Western Worlds.*

[3] *A record of the Buddhist religion by I-tsing*, transl. by Takakusu, Ch. 3.

We may consider as a synonymous designation :—

1[a]. SB. HEMAVATA = NB. HAIMAVATA in W. 253, VB. 300, R. 184. Still in R. 190 distinctions are made between the Sthaviras and the Haimavatas. In Dīp. and Mah., &c., they are considered as separate sects. Probably the Haimavatas were a local school of the Sthaviras of continental India.

2. SB. MAHĀSAṂGHIKA = NB. MAHĀSAṂGHIKA.[1] For their particular doctrine see W. 258 foll. They are the second school of the first great schism.

3. SB. GOKULIKA = NB. GOKULIKA (R. 186, 187; Tār. 271; VB. 301; St. J. 330, 334, 337, 341 = lists I–IV). The name is missing in Ch. 1, 2, 3 as also in W. In its place here appears :—

3[a]. KUKKUṬIKA (W. 252, 258) or KUKKULIKA (W. 249; VB. 300). Similarly in St. J. 344 (list V), the Kaukkuṭikas are put in instead of the Gokulikas and the two are expressly said 341 (list IV) to be identical.

Very closely related to the Gokulikas are :—

3[b]. LOKOTTARAVĀDIN who do not appear in the tradition of the Southern Buddhists. They are mentioned immediately beside the Gokulikas (or Kukkuṭikas). (W. 249, 252, 258; VB. 301; St. J. 334, 337, 341, 343 = lists II–V.) In R. 182 they are to be found just in the place where we should expect the Gokulikas. Cf. St. J. 330 = list I and Tār. 271, where the Gokulikas appear in the list, whilst, on the other hand, the Lokottaravādins are missing. Lastly, Tār. says, 273, that Lokottaravādins and Kaukkuṭapādas are the same. Ch. 2 mentions the L. in Bāmiān (BEAL, i. 50).

4. SB. EKAVYOHĀRIKA = NB. EKAVYAVAHĀRIKA (W. 249, 252; VB. 300, 301; R. 182, 187; Tār. 271; St. J. 330, 334, 337, 341, 344 = lists I–V). According to Tār. 273 the name is employed as a general designation of the Mahāsaṃghikas. Their doctrines according to W. 258 are the same as those of 2, 3[a] and 3[b].

[1] In St. J. 340 (list II) the Kārmikas, besides the Yogācāras and Aiśvarikas, are reckoned as belonging to the Mahāsaṃghikas.

5. SB. PAṆṆATTIVĀDIN = NB. PRAJÑAPTIVĀDIN (W. 251; R. 182; Tār. 271; St. J. 341 = list IV; missing in VB. 300; St. J. lists I–III, V, also in R. 185). They are the Si-chi in VB. 301. For their particular doctrines see W. 268, R. 189.

6. SB. BAHULIKA = NB. BAHUŚRUTĪYA (W. 250; VB. 300, 301; R. 182; Tār. 250, 252; St. J. 330, 334, 338, 341, 345 = lists I–V). For their doctrines see W. 268; R. 189.

7. SB. CETIYAVĀDA = NB. CAITIKA or CAITYIKA (W. 251, 252; VB. 300, 301; R. 182, 186). They are said to be a branch of the Gokulikas, R. 189; Tār. 252. In Tār. 273 they are said to be identical with the Pūrvaśailas. Corresponding to them in the lists I–III, V = St. J. 330, 334, 338, 345 are the Jetikas or Jetavaniyās or Jetaśailas.

8. SB. MAHIṂSĀSAKA = NB. MAHĪŚĀSAKA. They are, according to R. 186; Tār. 271, to be reckoned as belonging to the Vibhajyavādins (cf. 14[a]) and are said to be a branch of the Sarvāstivādins in W. 254; VB. 300, 301; St. J. 335, 339, 342, 345 = lists II–V. For their doctrines see R. 185, 191; W. 280 foll. Ch. 2 mentions them in Swāt (BEAL, i, p. 121). According to the same authority (BEAL, i, p. 226) the Bodhisattva Asaṅga professed himself to be of the school of the M., but went over to the Mahāyāna.

9. SB. VAJJIPUTTAKA = NB. VATSĪPUTRĪYA or VĀSAPUTRĪYA (W. 253, 256; VB. 300, 301; R. 182, 184, 186, 193; Tār. 271, 272, 273; St. J. 331, 335, 339, 342 = lists I–IV). They are said to be a branch of the Sarvāstivādins in W. 253, VB. 301, St. J. 335 (list II), while according to the southern Buddhist tradition the relation is reversed; and they are said, R. 186, to be a principal branch of the Sthaviras beside the Sarvāstivādins. The Kvu. Co., however, mentions them very slightly. The Pāli form of the name must be understood as an assimilation to the name of the Vajjiputtaka monks, the sectaries of Vesālī.

10. SB. DHAMMUTTARIYA = NB. DHARMOTTARĪYA the Dharmakārikas of the Nik. S., are said, as also in the southern

tradition, to be a branch of the Vatsīputrīya (W. 253; VB. 300, 301; R. 182, 186; Tār. 271; St. J. 331, 335, 339, 342, 345 = lists I–V).

11. SB. BHADRAYĀNIKA = BHADRĀYANĪYA are also a branch of the Vatsīputrīyas (W. 253; VB. 300, 301; R. 186; Tār. 271, 273; St. J. 335, 339, 342, 345 = lists II–V), and stand in especially close relation (R. 194) to the Dharmottarīyas from whom, according to St. J. 331 (list I), they had taken their rise.[1] For 10 and 11, R. gives the common designation Mahāgiriya.

12. SB. CHANDĀGĀRIKA = NB. ṢAṆṆAGARIKA 'those from the 6 cities', also a branch of the Vatsīputrīyas (W. 254; VB. 300; R. 186, cf. 194; Tār. 271; St. J. 335, 342 = lists II, IV) and are but slightly distinguished from 11 (W. 279). In the lists I, III, V in St. J. 337, 339, 345 there appear, instead of them, the Abhayagirivāsins.

13. SB. SAṂMITĪYA = NB. SAṂMATĪYA, taking their rise like 10–12, from 9 (W. 254; R. 186; Tār. 271, 272; St. J. 331, 335, 339, 342, 345 = lists I–V). According to R. 182 they are also called (13[a]) AVANTAKA or (13[b]) KURUKULLAKA, and Tār. 272 relates that according to the view of the Sarvāstivādins, the Kaurukullakas, the Avantakas, and the Vatsīputrīyas are the three kinds of the Saṃmatīyas. They are the Mi-li in VB. 301. They must have been a widely spread sect; Ch. 2 mentions them repeatedly as a school of the Hīnayāna (see BEAL, ii. 14, 44, 45, 186, &c.); according to Ch. 3 (TAKAKUSU, p. xxiv) they fall into four subdivisions and are spread over Western India and in Campā (Cochin-China) especially. The Kvu. Co. in a whole series of passages is occupied with their doctrines. On those see R. 194.

14. SB. SABBATTHAVĀDIN = NB. SARVĀSTIVĀDIN. According to W. 253, VB. 301, St. J. 339 (list III) and 342 (list IV), they are also called (14[a]) HETUVĀDA or HETUVIDYA, and according to R. 182, also Muruntaka, and they are said (W. 253, R. 182, Tār. 271) to be, beside the Vatsīputrīyas,

[1] It should be observed, however, that in the list I, in St. J., each school is made to take its rise from the one mentioned before it.

one of the principal schools of the Sthaviras. The statements of the Chinese pilgrims agree with this.

Ch. 1 (BEAL, i, p. lxx) states that the Vinaya of the S. is held to be particularly correct and agrees in essentials with that which is observed in China. Ch. 2 (BEAL, i, pp. 18, 19, 49, &c., ii, pp. 182, 270, &c.) mentions them frequently as a branch of the Hīnayāna; the Bodhisattva Vasubandhu (BEAL, i. 226) professed himself of this school. According to Ch. 3 (TAKAKUSU, p. xxiv) the S. were (beside the Sthaviras, Mahāsaṃghikas and Saṃmatīyas) one of the four principal Buddhist schools; they themselves fell into four groups (Mūlasarvāstivādins, Dharmaguptas, Mahīśāsakas and Kāśyapīyas), and had spread mostly in Magadha and Eastern India. On their doctrines see W. 270 foll.; R. 184, 185, 190. See also TAKAKUSU, *J.P.T.S.* 1904–1905, pp. 67 foll.

Here I will mention :—

14[b]. SB. VIBHAJJAVĀDIN = NB. VIBHAJYAVĀDIN. These are mentioned Mah. 5. 271. It is said here that the Buddha professed himself belonging to the V. From this as from the relation of the list in Tār. 271, 272 to the Ceylonese list (Dīp. 5. 45 foll.; Mah. 5. 6–9), OLDENBERG[1] has concluded that V. is another name for the Theravādins. In the Mahābodhivaṃsa, besides, this is said in plain terms.[2] However, according to Tār. 272, the V. are reckoned as belonging to the Sarvāstivādins, beside which they appear in R. 182 as a Sthavira school. According to R. 186, 191, Tār. 271 they embrace the sects of the Mahīśāsakas, Kāśyapīyas, Dharmaguptakas and (14[c]) TĀMRAŚĀṬĪYAS. The last named are in Tār. 272, 274 counted as belonging to the Sarvāstivādins and identified with the Saṃkrāntikas and (14[d]) the UTTARĪYAS.

If we resume these data it appears that Vibhajjavādin denotes not so much a particular sect but rather a philosophical tendency, which, for the Theravādins, was bound up

[1] *Vin. Piṭ.*, i, p. xli foll.

[2] P. 95[17]: *therānaṃ sambandhavacanattā theravādo ti, vibhajjavādinā munindena desitattā vibhajjavādo ti vuccati.* The same conclusion may be drawn from *Mah. Ṭīkā*, 94[8], 99[2].

with their conception of orthodoxy[1] and to which their different schools thenceforward laid claim.[2]

15. SB. Dhammaguttika = NB. Dharmaguptaka. They are, as we have just seen, reckoned as belonging to the Vibhajyavādins and are said (W. 254; VB. 300, 301; St. J. 335, 339, 342, 345 = lists II–V) to be a branch of the Mahīśāsaka. On their doctrines see W. 283, R. 192.

16. SB. Kassapiya = NB. Kāśyapīya, belonging also to the Vibhajyavādins. They took their rise in the Sarvāstivādins (W. 255; VB. 300, 301; St. J. 335, 340, 342, 346 = lists II–V) and are also called (16[a]) Suvarṣaka (W. and St. J. as above; cf. Tār. 271). For their doctrines see W. 283–284, R. 193.

17. SB. Saṃkantika = NB. Saṃkrāntivādin, a branch of the Sarvāstivādins (W. 255; BV. 300, 301; Tār. 271, 272; R. 193; St. J. 336, 340, 342 = lists II–IV). Their other name is said to be Uttarīya (R. 183; Tar. 273), also Tāmraśāṭīya (see under 14[b]). In W. 256, St. J. 336, 342 = lists II–IV they are identified with the Sautrāntika.

18. SB. Suttavāda = NB. Sautrāntika. The accounts of this school are far from clear. In the SB. sources no further mention is made of it. Its identity with 17 seems also to be evident from R. 186 where in the list the Sautrāntikas are introduced as a branch of the Sarvāstivādins, but the Saṃkrāntivādins are missing.

In Ch. 2 also the former (see Beal, i, pp. 139, 226; ii, p. 302) are mentioned, but not the latter. Besides, in list I, St. J. 332 the Sautrāntika evidently appear in the place of 17, being a branch of the Kāśyapīya. On the other hand, according to St. J. 340, 346 (lists III, V) the Sautrāntika would seem to be identical with the Prajñaptivādins (5), thus would belong not to the Sthaviras at all but to the Mahāsaṃghikas.

[1] Only thus can we understand how the Buddha himself can be called a Vibhajjavādī. He could never be called a Theravādī.

[2] Cf. Kathāvatthu (ed. Taylor), ii, p. 578, with the Co., pp. 177–178.

It seems that this last conclusion may also be drawn from R. 186 (n. 1) and Tār. 271.

Besides these eighteen schools the SB. sources mention the following branches:—

19. SB. Hemavata = NB. Haimavata. See above 1[a].

20. SB. Rājagiriya = NB. Rājagirika. They are counted (R. 186) as belonging to the Mahāsaṃghikas, but are missing entirely from the other list, R. 182. In Tār. 271, too, they only appear in the list belonging to the Mahāsaṃghikas. In the Chinese lists in St. J. they appear just as little as in Ch. 1, 2, 3.

21. SB. Siddhatthika. They are not mentioned in the NB. lists.

22. SB. Pubbaseliya = NB. Pūrvaśaila. It is clear and beyond doubt, from all the data, that these are most closely related to the Caityika. They are mentioned beside them (R. 182, 186; Tār. 271) or positively in place of them (W. 251, 252). In Ch. 2 they are mentioned only once as the Avaraśaila (Beal, ii, p. 221); Ch. 1 and 3 do not mention them. In St. J. 331, 334, 338, 342, 345 (lists I–V) the (22[a]) Uttaraśaila are also mentioned, always beside the Jetikas; in list I, VB. 300, also beside the Pūrvaśailas; and in list V, VB. 301 beside the Aparaśailas.

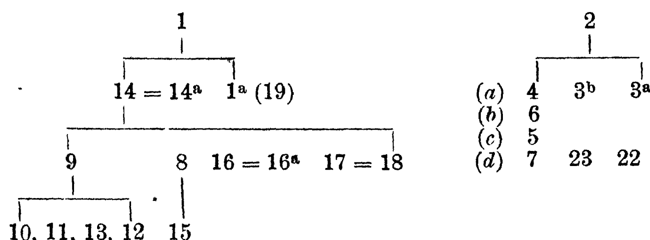
23. SB. Aparaseliya = NB. Aparaśaila or Avaraśaila, introduced as a school of the Mahāsaṃghikas in W. 254, 255; R. 182, 186; Tār. 271.

24. SB. Vājiriya (Dīp. 5. 54 = Apararājagiriya). They are not mentioned in the northern sources, and the same may be said of the 23. Dhammaruci and 24. Sāgaliya which are expressly called (Mah. 5. 13) Ceylonese sects.[1] Lastly, we may refer to the 25. Vetulya mentioned Mah. 36. 41, 111, also Kern's ingenious combination by which they are brought into relation with the Mahāyāna.

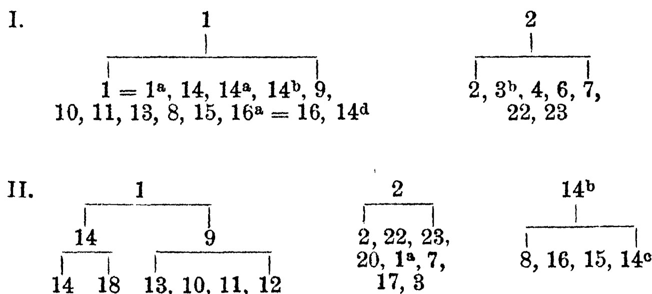
[1] On their origin see the interesting passage in the *Mah. Ṭīkā*, p. 115, l. 31 foll., translated by Turnour, *Mah.*, p. liii.

The different opinions as to the relation of the different sects to one another and their rise of one from another may be given in the form of a genealogical tree.

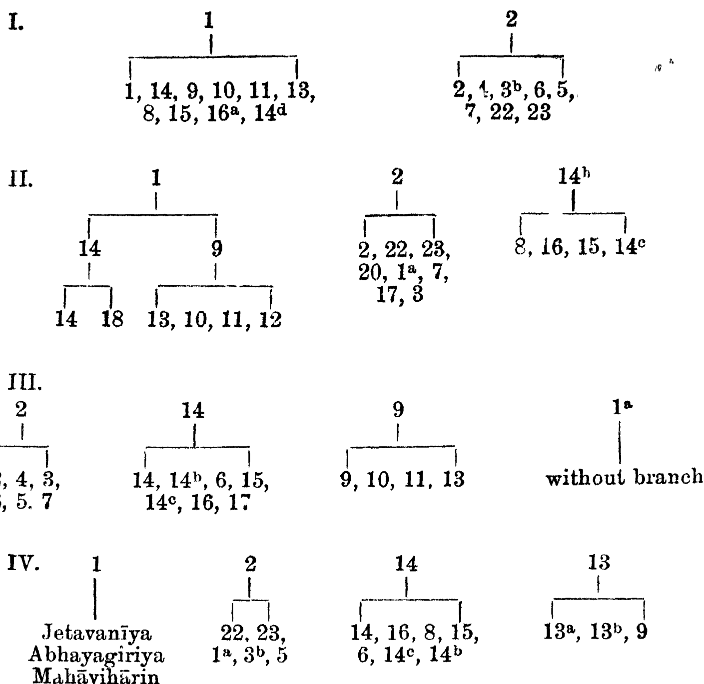
1. VASUMITRA (W. 249; VB. 301) divides them after the separation of 1 and 2 thus—



2. BHAVYA (R. 182, 186) represents two views of which the one is based on the same division as in Vasumitra's list, but the second on an original division into three, where the Vibhajyavādins form the third group.



3. TĀRANĀTHA (270–271) gives four different lists: I, according to the Sthaviras; II, according to the Mahāsaṃghikas; III, according to the Saṃmatīyas; and IV, according to the Sarvāstivādins. The first is based on a division into two principal groups, the second on a similar division into three, the third and fourth on a division into four. The first two lists coincide with those of Bhavya.



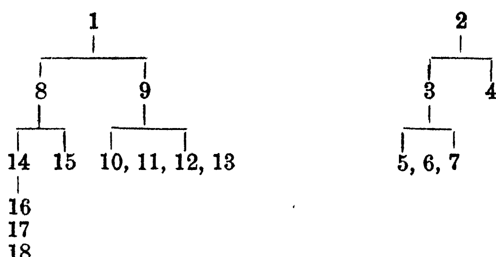
4. Of the Chinese lists in St. Julien the lists II–V are in agreement with each other and agree with Vasumitra's list with quite trifling variations. List I is connected with Bhavya's first list and Vasumitra's also (in BEAL), but makes each sect branch off from the preceding one within the two great groups. The series is as follows :—

1. : 14 : 1^a : 9 : 10 : 11 : 13 : 13^a[1] : 15 : 16 : 18.
2. : 4 : 3 : 6 : 7 : 22 : 22^a.

5. I-TSING admits four principal groups: (*a*) Mahāsaṃghika (with seven subdivisions); (*b*) Sthavira (with three subdivisions); (*c*) Sarvāstivāda (with Mūlasarvāstivāda, Dharmagupta, Mahīśāsaka, and Kāśyapīya as subdivisions); and (*d*) Saṃmitīya (with four subdivisions). Here, too, eighteen is given as the sum-total of the schools.

[1] The sect of the Abhayagirivāsins is inserted between 13 and 13^a.

6. According to Dīp. and Mah. the relation of the schools takes this shape (cf. list I of Tār.):—



As regards the time at which the separate schools arose, according to the Ceylonese sources the first schism took place 100 years after the Nirvāṇa. The remaining sects must have arisen in the time between the Second and Third Council, i.e. between 100 A.B. and 247 A.B., the most of them in the second century after the Nirvāṇa, but the last six (19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24) in the third century, the Dhammarucis, according to the Mah. Ṭīkā at the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, the Sāgaliyas at that of Mahāsena.[1]

Among the Northern Buddhists we find quite similar traditions.

According to VASUMITRA (W. 249 foll., VB. 301) the sects 4, 3^b, and 3^a, as also 6 and 5, were formed in the course of the second century A.B., that is, after the first schism. By the end of the second century 7, 22, and 22^a had arisen. In the third century arose 14 (14^a), and 1^a, later 9, and then 10, 11, 13, 12, also 8, and from this last 15. Only the rise of 17 (= 18) is placed in the fourth century. These dates are transferred from Vasumitra into the Chinese lists (ST. JULIEN).

The information given by I-TSING on the spread of the schools at his time, i.e. towards the end of the seventh century A.D.,[2] is of great interest. At that time the Sarvāstivādins prevailed in Magadha, the Saṃmitīyas in North-west India, the Sarvāstivādins in the North, and in the South the Sthaviras. In the East the four great groups, i.e. the three above mentioned and the Mahāsaṃghikas, were mixed.

[1] See p. 283, n. 1. [2] TAKAKUSU, *I-tsing*, pp. 8–9.

In the polemics of the Kathāvatthu[1] the most prominent schools, according to the commentator Buddhaghosa, are the Theravādins, the Sammitīyas, the Mahiṃsāsakas, the Sabbatthavādins, and the Mahāsaṃghikas. But more frequently than these the names ANDHAKA and UTTARAPATHAKA are employed, in which Buddhaghosa evidently comprises the South Indian and North Indian sects.

[1] See RHYS DAVIDS, *J.R.A.S.* 1891, p. 413.

APPENDIX C

CAMPAIGNS OF PAṆḌUKĀBHAYA (Mah. 10. 27 foll.) AND DUṬṬHAGĀMAṆI (Mah. 25. 1 foll.)

PAṆḌUKĀBHAYA takes refuge from the persecution of his uncles in Paṇḍulagāmaka.

The place is unknown. In our inquiry, therefore, we must take as starting-point Paṇa, where he gathers together his first followers, to engage in battle with his uncles.

Paṇa is situated near Kāsapabbata. This name has been, I believe, preserved in the modern Kahagala-gama,[1] the name of a village situated about ten miles to the north of Kaḷuwæwa and fifteen miles to the south-west of Anurādhapura.

From Paṇa he does not direct his march northward on the then capital of the country Upatissagāma.[2] He is not strong enough for this. Rather he is obliged to follow the tactics of all rebels, to bring first the border-districts, the *paccantagāmā*, into his power.[3] Therefore he marches first towards the south-east, more or less along the line which Duṭṭhagāmaṇi followed, in the opposite direction in his march against Anurādhapura. Probably the old military road ran along here. So he comes first into the district of Girikaṇḍasiva. This name is, we may conjecture, connected with that of Girilaka, which is mentioned Mah. 25. 47 with reference to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's campaign. We must look for this district between the Kaḷuwæwa and the Riṭigala.

[1] On the map of Ceylon, four miles to an inch.

[2] Upatissagāma is situated on the Gambhīranadī (Mah. 7. 44) to the north of Anurādhapura. From here to the Gambhīranadī (Mah. 28. 7) is a distance of a yojana = 7–8 miles. By this we arrive at a general notion of the position of Upatissagāma.

[3] GEIGER, *Dīp. and Mah.*, pp. 39–40.

P. now marches on southward of Riṭigala to the spot where the Ambangangá and Mahawæliganga unite. To the south of the Mineri-tank the people of Girikaṇḍasiva come up with him. The result is the battle of Kalaha-nagara. This is the Kalahagala[1] of the present day, situated 7–8 miles distant from the lake mentioned. Not far from here we must look for the scene of the second battle of Lohitavāhakhaṇḍa (Mah. 10. 43).

Although the victory in both battles is attributed to P., he does not yet venture to attack Upatissagāma directly. On the contrary, he continues his march in the direction followed hitherto, and crosses the Mahawæliganga (*pāragaṅgaṃ*, Mah. 10. 44).

The place where he crossed over must have been the Kacchaka-ford, which I take to be the Mahagantoṭa[2] below the spot where the Ambanganga flows into the Mahawæliganga.

As the base of further operations P. chooses a region on the right bank of the Mahāgaṅgā (Mahawæliganga), the Doḷa-mountain. This name survives in that of the village Dolagalawela[3] in the Bintenne district, twenty miles to the north of the place so named, which is now called Alutnuwara.

During the four years that P. spends near the Doḷa-mountain he is said to have been making preparations for the really decisive battle. This is made possible for him by the fact that he has now the whole province of Rohaṇa, with all its resources, behind him. By his position he has also the key to the most important or the only ford of the Mahawæliganga.

In the meantime P.'s uncles have also completed their preparations. They march against the rebels and entrench themselves on the Dhūmarakkha-mountain. Its position is shown clearly by Mah. 10. 53, 57, 58. We must look for it

[1] See *Census of Ceylon*, 1901, iv, p. 468.

[2] *Itinerary of Roads in Ceylon*, i (1909), p. 39, no. 68.

[3] *Census*, 1901, iv, p. 262. The Doḷukaṇḍa which PARKER (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 192) mentions cannot be the Doḷa-pabbata of the Mah., since it is situated (PARKER, in a letter dated July 17, 1910) about ten miles to the north of Kurunǣgala.

on the left bank of the Mahawæliganga, not far from the Kacchaka-ford. The chief object of the uncles was evidently to prevent P. from crossing the river.

However, to be beforehand with them, P. risks the crossing. He defeats the enemy in flight, and takes possession of their camp. He then proceeds on the direct road to the capital.

On the Ariṭṭha-pabbata (Riṭigala) he pitches an entrenched camp which is to serve as a base for his final operations. The uncles once more march against him with fresh troops. The decisive battle takes place near Lābu-gāmaka (Mah. 10. 72), the Labunoruwa [1] of the present day, on the north-west slope of the Riṭigala. P. carries off the victory.

The road to the capital now lies open to him. He takes possession of it and afterwards, having assumed sole sovereignty, he removes the royal residence to Anurādhapura.

We see that the information given by the Mahāvaṃsa on Paṇḍukābhaya's campaigns, if rightly understood, is quite adequate. The military measures taken seem thoroughly methodical; their aim can be clearly understood.

On quite similar lines is the advance of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi on Anurādhapura, a proof that we have to do in both cases with old connecting roads between the regions left and right of the Mahawæliganga. P. was obliged to secure these in order to carry out successfully his operations against Upatissagāma. D. used them for bringing up his troops.

Duṭṭhagāmaṇi starts (Mah. 25. 5) from Mahāgāma in Rohaṇa, the site of which is indicated by the ruins of Tissa-Mahārāma in the South Province, sixteen miles north-east of Hambantoṭa. Taking a northerly direction, he marches through Guttahālaka,[2] now Buttala, towards Mahiyaṅgaṇa. This, according to the local tradition, is the modern Bintenne or Alutnuwara.

[1] *Census*, 1901, iv, p. 464.

[2] The evidence for this site is chiefly Mah. 24. 17. D. stations outposts in G. on the look-out for his brother Tissa, whose advance from Dīghavāpi is expected here.

D. is here on the bank of the Mahawæliganga. Now follows the enumeration of a whole series of forts which were occupied by Damiḷas and taken by D.

Among these, too, appears Kaccha-tittha (now Mahagantoṭa), to take which required a four months' siege (Mah. 25. 12). I think, therefore, that the places mentioned are mere frontier-outposts or forts which had been placed along the Mahawæliganga[1] from the bend of the river above Bintenne to the neighbourhood of the mouth. The individual names cannot now be settled.

The remains of the vanquished Damiḷa-divisions retreat towards Vijita-nagara. It still seems to me most probable that we should look for this city in the neighbourhood of Kaḷuwæwa, where the Vijitapura-vihāra is now situated, and ruins in the jungle testify to the former existence of a larger settlement.[2]

In all probability D. will have crossed the Mahāgaṅgā near Kacchaka-tittha. On the advance against Vijita he first followed the same road that Paṇḍukābhaya used when he marched from the Kāsa-pabbata to the Doḷa-pabbata. It must have run somewhere between Sīgiri and the Mineri-tank.

The siege and storming of Vijita are described with great clearness and vivacity. The further stations, Girilaka, Mahela-nagara, and Kāsa-pabbata lay far along the road which leads from Dambul to Anurādhapura. On the Kāsa-pabbata D. entrenched himself, evidently in order to await in a favourable position his adversary Eḷāra. Here again in fact it comes to a decisive battle, the fortunate issue of which opens to D. the road to the capital. The conquered foe was pursued up to the immediate vicinity of Anurādhapura. In a last attempt to bring the fleeing troops to a halt beneath the walls of the city Eḷāra falls by the hand of D. in heroic single combat.

[1] Cf. Mah. 25. 19, where this seems to be plainly said.

[2] BURROWS, *Buried Cities of Ceylon*, p. 75. PARKER certainly (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 237 foll.) looks for Vijita in the region of the later Poḷonnaruwa.

APPENDIX D

LIST OF PĀLI TERMS OCCURRING IN THE TRANSLATION

1. ĀCARIYA, 'teacher, master.' See p. 31, n. 4.

2. ARAHANT. Literally 'able, worthy', a person who has reached the ideal. In an Arahant the *āsavā*, the deadly drugs of delusion, are brought to an end; he is no longer subject to re-birth, but lives in Nirvāṇa, the final liberation. RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhism*, 110; *Early Buddhism*, 72–74.

3. ĀRĀMA, 'park, garden.' Designation of a Buddhist convent = *vihāra*, CHILDERS, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v.

4. ĀSAVA. The term is hardly translatable. It has been first explained by RHYS DAVIDS, *Dialogues*, i, p. 92, ii, p. 28 (= SBB. ii, iii). According to Buddhaghosa, Asl. 48[15], well-matured spirituous liquors are called *āsavā*. Jāt. IV. 222[19] we read: *āsavo tāta lokasmiṃ surā nāma pavuccati*. The underlying idea is, therefore, that of 'overwhelming intoxication', not that of a deadly flood. There are four *āsavā*: (1) *kāma* 'lust, desire', (2) *bhava* '(desire of a future) existence', (3) *avijjā* 'ignorance (of the four holy truths)', and (4) *diṭṭhi* 'false belief'. D. I. 84; II. 81; M. I. 7, &c., *khīṇāsava* 'one who has overcome the āsavas', and *anāsava* 'one who is free from the āsavas', are epithets of the *arahant*.

5. BHIKKHU, BHIKKHUṆĪ, mendicant monk, nun. Member of the Buddhist order.

6. BUDDHA (*Saṃbuddha*, *Sammā-Saṃbuddha* convey the same notion in a heightened degree) denotes a being who by his own force has attained to possession of the highest knowledge. He is neither man nor god. He is able to perform certain wonders in accord with the laws of nature. In an endless

series of existences the Buddha prepares himself for his state of Buddhahood. During the whole of this time he is called a *bodhisatta* (Skt. *bodhisattva*) till in his last existence as a man—the last but one he generally spends in a heaven of the gods—he attains to knowledge (*bodhi*, *saṃbodhi*, *abhisaṃbodhi*). In the ancient texts *saṃbodhi* is always the insight of an Arahant.[1] Since this event comes to pass for the historical Buddha under an *assattha* tree (*Ficus religiosa*), this is the sacred tree of the Buddhists, and the 'Bodhi-tree' (Sinh. *bōgaha*) is not lacking in any Buddhist sanctuary in Ceylon.

A Paccekabuddha has also reached Nirvāṇa (see below) by his own force, but does not come forward as a teacher. The historical Buddha is called, after his family, Gotama Buddha or Sakyamuni, 'the sage of the house of the Sakyas.' See Kern, p. 62 foll.

7. Cetiya. See under Thūpa.

8. Devatā, divinity, genius, particularly applied to the spirits which, according to popular belief, inhabit trees, wells, hills, and in fact every place. In Mah. 28. 6 a *devatā* of the royal parasol is mentioned.

9. Dhamma, truth, religion, the sum-total of Buddhist doctrine. Opposed to *vinaya*, 'Discipline, the monastic rule,' Dhamma in the more restricted sense denotes the second part of the tipiṭaka (which see).

10. Karīsa, first a measure of capacity; in another sense an area of about 4 acres, i.e. as much ground as can be sown with a *karīsa* of seed-corn. See Rhys Davids, *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 18.

11. Khattiya (Skt. *kṣatriya*), the class of nobles or warriors. This was one of the four ancient *vaṇṇā*, or social grades. The Buddhists and Jainas put them first in the list, the Brahmans put themselves first. The Khattiyas have been sometimes called a caste; but they never formed an organized community, like the modern castes, with connubium and commensality between all Khattiyas. See Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, i. 96–107; *Buddhist India*, 52 ff.

[1] Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, i, pp. 190–192.

12. Manta, formula, sacred formula, charm, spell, designation of the Vedic hymns. Cf. Mah. 5. 109.

13. Nāga, designation of supernatural beings, snake-demons, sometimes represented in human form with a snake's hood in the neck, sometimes as mixed forms, half man half snake. They are distinguished by devout reverence toward the Buddha. Their sworn enemies are the Garuḍa, winged beings resembling the griffin (cf. p. 129, n. 4). See Grünwedel, *Buddhist. Kunst*, p. 42 foll.

14. Nibbāṇa (Skt. *nirvāṇa*). One of the terms for Arahantship. At Saṃyutta IV. 251, 261 it is defined as the destruction (in the heart) of *rāga*, *dosa*, and *moha* (lust, illwill, and stupidity); and is stated to be attainable by the eightfold Path. See also de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme*, p. 57 ff.

15. Pabbajjā. Literally 'going forth'; the technical term for giving up the household life and becoming a *religieux*, entering an order. The rules for the reception of candidates for membership varied in the various orders. The Buddhist rules are now translated by Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts*, vol. i. When a candidate is first admitted he is called a *Sāmaṇera*, novice.

16. Paccekabuddha. See under Buddha.

17. Pariveṇa, monk's cell, the private dwelling of a bhikkhu within the monastery.

18. Pavāraṇā, 'invitation,' name of a festival held by the bhikkhus at the close of the *vassa*, i.e. the rainy season, spent in the monastery. See *Vinaya Texts*, i, pp. 335–353.

19. Samaṇa, 'ascetic,' designation of the Buddhist priests as opposed to the Brāhmaṇa.

20. Sāmaṇera. See under Pabbajjā.

21. Saṃghatthera. See under Thera.

22. Sudda (Skt. *Śūdra*), a man of the fourth, non-Aryan caste.

23. Tāla. Lit. 'palm,' a measure of length. Rhys' Davids, *Ancient Coins, &c.*, p. 18.

24. Tathāgata, one of the terms of veneration applied to the Buddhas. The Buddha usually speaks of himself thus. The meaning is a matter of controversy. The native commentators explain the word in quite different ways. See Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, p. 75.

25. Thera, Therī (Skt. *sthavira*, °*rā*), term of respect applied to monks and nuns, especially to those of venerable age. *Saṃghatthera* is the denotion of the senior priest in any assembly of bhikkhus, or in the whole community. See *J.P.T.S.* 1908, p. 19.

26. Thūpa (Skt. *stūpa*, tope), name of edifices which serve as receptacle for a relic or as monument. They are hemispherical or bell-shaped, and rest upon a base of three concentric stories which form ambulatories round the tope; they sustain a cubical erection, the so-called *tee* from which rises the spire (*chatta*) which crowns the whole. The relic-chamber (*dhātugabbha*, whence the name 'Dagaba', used in Ceylon for the whole edifice) is in the interior, below the *tee*.

The expression *cetiya* (Skt. *caitya*), originally the most general term for 'sanctuary'—a tree, too, can be a *cetiya*—is used in the Mah. mostly as a synonym for *thūpa*. Cf., for instance, *Mahācetiya* or *Mahāthūpa* as the name of the Ruwanwæli-Dagaba in Anurādhapura.

There is frequent mention in the Mah. of a *thūpaghara* or *cetiyaghara*, 'house of the thūpa or cetiya.'

There can be no doubt, from Mah. 31. 29, that sometimes a sort of roof or temple was built over the tope. In Anurādhapura the Thūpārāma-Dagaba is surrounded by four concentric rows of pillars. It appears as if the two inner rows, where the capitals of the pillars have tenons, were intended to bear the roof of a thūpaghara. Parker (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 270) considers it altogether possible, differing in this from Smither (*Anurádhapura*, p. 7). Of course such temples could only be

constructed over the smaller thūpas, and, as far as I can see, are only mentioned in this case. If mention is made of a *bodhighara*, i.e. of a temple for the bodhi-tree, then it is naturally only a question of building round and not over the sacred tree.

27. TIPIṬAKA (Skt. *tripiṭaka*). Lit. 'three baskets,' collective name for the canonical scriptures of the Buddhists. They fall into three main divisions, Vinaya-piṭaka, Sutta-p. (or Dhamma), and Abhidhamma-p. See CHILDERS, s.v.; KERN, p. 1 foll.

28. UPASAMPADĀ, the solemn ordination of the monk who is a novice until that time, by a chapter of the order; the higher consecration of the priesthood. See CHILDERS, s.v.; KERN, p. 77 foll.; SP. HARDY, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 44 foll.

29. UPOSATHA (Skt. *upavasatha*). The Buddhist sabbath which is considered a holy day both for priests and laymen. It occurs four times in the month: on the full- and new-moon day, and on the eighth day following full- and new-moon. On two of these four days the recitation of the Pātimokkha-precepts (*pātimokkhuddesa*) takes place, i.e. the priestly ceremony of confession, in which every member of the order is to acknowledge the faults he has committed. CHILDERS, s.v.; KERN, p. 99.

Uposathāgāra, or *uposathaghara*, is a building belonging to the monastery used for the performance of the uposatha ceremonies.

30. VEDĪ or VEDIKĀ (Skt. the same), means first 'terrace, altar'. When in Mah. 36. 52 a *pāsāṇavedī* around the bodhi-tree is mentioned, it means a stone terrace, on which such sacred trees usually stand. Cf. in the same sense *silāvedī*, Mah. 36. 103.

Further, this word has the sense of 'terrace with balustrade'. It is to be understood thus in D. II. pp. 182–183 in the description of Sudassana's palace. Exactly in the same manner, D. II. pp. 181–182, by *sopāna* a 'staircase with balustrade' is meant, and in both passages an accurate description follows,

not of the terrace or of the staircase, but especially of the rail.

When a *muddhavedī* and *pādavedī* of a thūpa are mentioned (Mah. 35. 2) the former is the so-called *tee*, the latter the storied base (see no. 26). Railings in relief are frequently added to both. SMITHER, p. 52, 27. Finally the meaning 'balustrade, railing' supersedes the others. Thus by the coral-vedikās to the *kūṭāgāra*, the 'window-chambers' of the Lohapāsāda, the parapet-balustrade to the windows is evidently meant. Cf. *vedikā-vātapāna*, C.V. VI. 2. 2. Plainly in the same way *vedikā*, C.V. V. 14. 2, means a balustrade. See *S.B.E.* xx, p. 104, n. 3; p. 162, n. 4.

31. VESSA (Skt. *vaiśya*), a man of the third social grade.

32. VIHĀRA, dwelling, habitation for gods as also for monks, therefore temple or convent (FERGUSSON, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1910, i, p. 170). In the Mah. the latter meaning prevails.

33. YAKKHA (f. *yakkhiṇī*; Skt. *yakṣa*, *yakṣiṇī*), designation of certain supernatural beings who are under the rule of Vessavaṇa (Skt. *Vaiśravaṇa*, name of the god Kubera). In the Mah. the aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon are frequently called Yakkha.

34. YOJANA, a measure of length. According to the system of the Abhidhānappadīpikā 196, 1 *yojana* is = 4 *gāvuta* = 80 *usabha* = 20 *yaṭṭhi* = 7 *ratana* (or *hattha* 'ell') = 2 *vidatthi* (span) = 12 *aṅgula*. According to RHYS DAVIDS, *Ancient Coins* &c., p. 15 foll., the native tables of linear measures make the yojana between 12 and 12½ miles, but in actual practice it must have been reckoned as 7–8 miles.

INDEXES

(The numbers refer to pages and notes)

A. LIST OF GEOGRAPHICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL NAMES

B. LIST OF TERMS EXPLAINED IN THE NOTES

ADDENDA

v. 132. The meaning is as follows: The words *gacchāti* are a polite form of refusing a mendicant friar: 'go on (to the next house).' Therefore Siggava could say that he had received something (i. e. a polite answer), without telling a lie. Formerly he had received nothing at all, no alms, nor even an answer, but had been entirely disregarded. See *Milinda-pañha* 8; RHYS DAVIDS, *S.B.E.* xxxv, p. 15, and note.

xxix. 40. Translate: From his dwelling-place, the Vattaniya (ārāma) in the Viñjhā forest hills came the thera Uttara &c.

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'The English reading public is in a position, thanks to her accomplished hand, to study these ancient testimonies to the power of Buddhist doctrine in a complete and satisfactory form. . . . It has long been recognized, in the study of Sanskrit literature, that it is vain to attempt to dispense with the help of native light, and to interpret texts solely by means of grammar and lexicon. No doubt much may be explained without the vernacular commentators, and the student must always exercise his critical faculty in using them, but, with all reserves made, these commentators do stand closer to their texts than occidentals can stand, and point out many things that, without their help, would be overlooked or only half understood. "Chaque pays a sa pensée" says the French poet, and the greater German poet bids us go to the poet's country if we would understand the poet's word. Of all this Mrs. Rhys Davids has been duly mindful, and her version has gained much in point of trustworthiness on this account. But the flow and spontaneity of the verse has by no means suffered through this accuracy and rigid adherence to the tradition. The metrical form moves lightly withal, and this freedom of movement is a witness to the sympathy of the translator with the thoughts of the ancient Therīs.—*The Buddhist Review.*

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2. **Compendium of Philosophy**, being a translation of the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*. By Shwe Zan Aung, B.A., revised and edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids. Price 5*s*. net.

'The translation now before us is, in the best and fullest sense of the words, the result of Eastern and Western effort combined. The most intrinsically interesting part of the book, the Appendix (pp. 220–85), which contains Mr. Aung's extensive notes on some of the most important technical terms of Buddhist philosophy, will be found extremely useful by all students of Buddhism. More especially I would point out the very lucid and highly instructive discussions on the vexed question of the Paṭiccasamuppāda and on the true meaning of the term Saṃkhāra. Three useful indexes add to the usefulness of the volume, for which both the English editor and the Burmese author deserve our best thanks, and on the publication of which the Pali Text Society is to be heartily congratulated.'—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

'Ein entscheidender Grund für die Unzulänglichkeit unserer bezüglichen Kenntnisse ist aber wohl darin zu suchen, dass die Gedankenkreise, in denen die buddhistische Weltanschauung sich bewegt, so wenig mit okzidentalischen Begriffen in Einklang zu bringen sind, dass eine wesentliche Förderung in der angedeuteten Richtung vielleicht nur dann zu erhoffen ist, wenn es gelingen sollte, die berufenen Vertreter der buddhistischen Gelehrsamkeit in den in Frage kommenden Ländern—vor allem Japan, Birma, Ceylon—für die Übersetzung und Bearbeitung der massgebenden Werke zu interessieren. Dass eine derartige Teilnahme an der wissenschaftlichen Erforschung des Buddhismus, namentlich soweit dessen jungere Entwicklungszustände in Betracht kommen, nur von dem vorteilhaftesten Einfluss sein könnte, wird vor allem auch durch die hier vorliegende Übersetzung eines der wichtigsten neu-buddhistischen Texte der "südlichen" Schule, der "Zusammenfassung des Sinnes des Abhidhamma", durch den Birmesen Shwe Zan Aung nahegelegt. Der Name des Mitherausgebers, Mrs. Rhys Davids, bietet für die Zuverlassigkeit der Übersetzung sowohl wie für die in Anhängen und Bemerkungen gebotene Bearbeitung der verschiedenartigen Probleme, vor allem auch philosophiegeschichtlichen Inhalts, die beste Gewähr.'—*Deutsche Literaturzeitung.*

'Here, for the first time in the history of modern research into the ancient Buddhist lore, we have a work produced by a Buddhist scholar, working in a Buddhist land with all the immense advantage which a life-long training, the actual religion, and free access to the living tradition of the monasteries confer; himself also a deep student of the western philosophical systems; and his work is

rendered, if possible, of still greater value, by the revision and collaboration of one who may justly be admitted to be the foremost living occidental authority on the subject. . . . The editor has, with characteristic acumen and appreciation of their high value, considerably augmented the usefulness of the work before us by the inclusion, in an appendix of some 60 pp., of a number of notes written by the author in the course of the correspondence which the work involved. Here, once more, we have Buddhist psychology as the born and instructed Buddhist student sees it, and many an occidental Buddhist student will find in these important notes much matter for deep study as well as great enlightenment.'—*The Rangoon Gazette.*